



The Red Union Handbook

R I L U  COMINTERN (SH)

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July 3rd, 2021

**on Occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the RILU (July 3 rd,
1921)**

**and on occasion of the 100th Anniversary of Stalinism-
Hoxhaism (July 16th, 1947)**

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**Published by the Red International of Labour
Unions and the Comintern (SH)**

The slogan of the RILU can be defined in 3 words:

"Abolish wage slavery!"

The RILU fights against reactionary unions who maintain wage slavery.

The RILU fights for revolutionary unions who fight wage slavery with the goal of abolishing it forever.

About the Author

In this Red Union Handbook, the foundations of Stalinist-Hoxhaist union policies are set forth.

It is a summary and further development of the positions we have published so far on the theory and tactics of revolutionary union struggle.

Of fundamental importance is the theoretical article published the 31st of December, 2006, on the 6th anniversary of the founding of the Comintern (SH): "[World Proletariat – Unite all countries!](#)" (Text in German).

I descend from a Hamburger working family and was educated and trained by the working class. I went to sea in 1964 (on the coastal trading vessel "*Sleipner*", its route being: North Ireland-Wales-Sweden). I was a machine operator in a textile mill and have worked in a chemical factory. Then I became a dock worker for the largest port operation in Hamburg – the HHLA. It was there I, together with Comrade Ernst Aust, founded the port cell of the KPD/ML. As elected cell leader I edited the company newspaper "*Der rote Handhaken*" ("*The Red Hand Hook*"). When the English dock workers went on strike and the English ships were redirected to the Hamburg ports for unloading, I organized an international solidarity strike to smash the strikebreaking. For that purpose we distributed the flyer "*Werft die Brocken hin!*" ("*Throw down the chunks!*"), written by Ernst Aust. I also led poster campaigns in the Hamburg port, sold copies of the

"Roter Morgen" in front of the company gates and distributed flyers of the KPD/ML.

As a member of the "Wasserkante" (water's edge) state management of the KPD/ML I took part in the establishment of the RGO and led the struggle against the opportunists within our own ranks. I've been a member of the RGO since its founding in 1978 and have been active in its work to this day (see the current website for the [RGO](#)). From 1983-1985 I fought against the Trotskyites, who had liquidated the RGO, in our Party. Back then I was a member of the Lower Saxony state management. At the proposal of Comrade Ernst Aust, I was unanimously elected to the Coordinating Committee of the KPD/ML with the purpose of reorganizing the KPD/ML after we had kicked the Trotskyites out. In 1986, I was elected Chairman of the KPD/ML and was accordingly responsible for the reorganization of the Party's company and union work. Since the founding of the Comintern (SH) I have worked to [rebuild the RILU](#), refounding it in 2003 and elaborating on Stalinist-Hoxhaist union policies.

It's been proven for 20 years that one can do revolutionary work in bourgeois unions without being thrown out of the job and union for being a communist.

I was a member of the two largest independent unions of the German Trade Union Confederation and active in three union circles (Hamburg, Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein). In Schleswig-Holstein, I did my union work on a state level. And on a federal level, I was for a short time active in the educational institutions of the union.

I founded a body of shop stewards. I was elected Chairman of the Works Committee by the employees and then chairman of the General Works Council by other companies.

I have won some victories for my colleagues in the labor courts.

If one wants to become a revolutionary unionist, then they must also fight for the economic and political interests of the working class *outside* the companies and the unions, they must dialectically link the internal and external struggle. In this Red Union Handbook the essential tasks of the RILU *outside* the workplace and union are neglected. A separate article must be written. It should be remembered that it was especially Comrades Ernst Thälmann and Ernst Aust who made great contributions in that field, especially in the unemployment field. We must learn from them. I had, in their spirit, organized an unemployed initiative and on a national level provided a united front between the RGO and the "Social Security Initiative" (against cuts to wages and social services). I founded the first "workers' haunt" (Party venue) of the KPD/ML in Hamburg and led it for many years (this included weekly get-together of Party and non-party workers, discussions about daily events, the exchanging of personal experiences, lectures, the singing of revolutionary songs, film screenings, etc.).

My draft for the "Social Program for the KPD/ML" was destroyed by the Trotskyite party leadership, who was in power in the early 80s. My draft of the program sadly cannot be found.

I draw on my experiences in the struggle against the open and hidden anti-communists in the unions, experience from disputes with the "left" enemies of the Red International of Labour Unions, with the enemies of the RGO within its own ranks, within the KPD/ML.

I neither belong to those comrades who let themselves to be lathered up and bought by the bourgeois unions and then took the place assigned to them in the "left" union wing (the so-called "union leftists"), nor to those who migrated into the camp of the anarcho-syndicalists or to those who capitulated and resigned from union work entirely or to those who even openly switched to the camp of the counter-revolution.

I have written this Red Union Handbook to give orientation and support in the struggle against anti-communism in the workplace and unions. I would like to show my respect to all revolutionary unionists of the world, to encourage them in the sacrificial and extremely difficult and complicated work they do every day. It is therefore necessary to help the revolutionary unionists convince the workers of the RILU to break away from the influence of the bourgeois-(neo)-revisionist, Trotskyite, Maoist, and anarchist elements in the workplace and the unions and unwaveringly concentrate on unity in the struggle for the World Socialist Revolution in order to finally put an end to wage slavery under capitalism and enter world socialism and world communism.

The victory of the proletarian world revolution, just like the victory of the socialism in one country, is impossible if one does not smash the consequences of the agents of capitalism within the camp of the world revolution, if one does not defeat opportunism within the Union Question, if one does not

deprive the world proletarian from "left" and right opportunism within the union.

In this Red Union Handbook, we do not concern ourselves with abstract propaganda or abstract agitation, but with how every revolutionary worker should understand all questions in the daily struggle in order to win the broad working masses to the concrete and practical solutions to the class struggle.

How should one push back the daily attacks of the capitalists and organize the proletarian defense and the proletarian counter-attack.

Our enemies may initially hush our RILU book and then, when it becomes known, label it as "sectarian" or as a "naïve rêverie" at best.

Our Red Union Handbook contains practical demands that all workers can unite for its implementation. This RILU book was not created to be served to the anti-communist unions on a silver platter, but was created for the exploited and oppressed working class.

The world proletariat should use the RILU book as a guide to revolutionary actions, as a guide for the construction and victory of red unions. The working class will eliminate capitalist wage slavery, not through class reconciliation, but through class struggle, through the revolutionary elimination of the class rule of the world bourgeoisie and the establishment of the class rule of the world proletariat. And whoever acknowledges this RILU book in words, but fights against it in deeds, does not support the elimination of the bourgeois wage slavery system, but supports its maintenance.

There has not been a red union handbook since the dissolution of the RILU in 1937. This is the first red union handbook in 84 years, based on the old RILU and is further modified by the current conditions of globalization and further developed on the foundations of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

This Red Union Handbook is firstly about the revolutionizing of the *world* proletarian class consciousness and secondly about the transformation of revolutionary consciousness of the world proletariat into the decisive drive force for implementing the demands of the RILU. The class struggle against the capitalist world union system is above all a political struggle because without the victory of the World Socialist Revolution, the socialist union system cannot defeat the capitalist union system. There is no peaceful transition from the capitalist to the socialist unions.

The difference between our Red Union Handbook and all other union books is in its revolutionary character. Our minimum demands for global union reforms are desirable and indispensable in itself, but as long as the capitalist world order continues to exist and remain untouched, nothing will change in the bourgeois class character of the unions because of it. We do not seek to reform capitalism, but to unite the class struggle for the fundamental improvement of global living conditions of the working class with the revolutionary smashing of the capitalist world order, and also with the smashing of the capitalist unions. Only on the ruins of the capitalist unions can a socialist world order with its own, new socialist union system be built up. The socialist union system is the union system under the world dictatorship of the proletariat, and is still a class system, under the domination of the proletariat or the

bourgeoisie, the capitalists. But ultimately, we don't want a union system based on class rule. The socialist union system is directed towards a transitional period before the classless world society. What we want is a classless union system in the service of world communism.

The World Socialist Revolution cannot free humanity from exploitation and oppression if it does not free the unions from the shackles of world capitalism.

- Wolfgang Eggers, 3rd of July, 2021

Chapter I

**Down with the Exploited Working World in
World Capitalism!**

**Fight for an Exploitation-Free Working World
in World Communism!**

**Acquire Basic Marxist Knowledge on
The Working World**

Marx defined the concept of labor as follows:

"Labour is, in the first place, a process in which both man and Nature participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates, and controls the material reaction between himself and Nature. He opposes himself to Nature..." (Marx: 'Capital, Volume I' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 35'; Moscow; 1983; p.188; English Edition).

Engels:

"The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of nature foreign to, and dominating him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him." (Engels: 'Anti-Dühring, Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 25'; Moscow; 1987; p.270; English Edition).

Marx said:

"In production, men enter into relation not only with nature. They produce only by co-operating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations with one another and only within these social connections and relations does their relation with nature, does production, take place."
(Marx: 'Wage Labour and Capital' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 9'; Moscow; 1977; p.211; English Edition).

"Consequently, social production consists of two sides which, although they are inseparably connected, reflect two different categories of relations: the relations of men to nature

(productive forces), and the relations of men to one another in the process of production (production relations)."

"(...) Marx says:

"In the social production of their lives [that is, in the production of the material values necessary to the life of men - J. Stalin], men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitute the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness.' [*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Preface.]" (Stalin: 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.'; Moscow; 1952; p.71-72; English Edition).

The laborer works "under the control of the capitalist to whom his labour belongs".

"Suppose that a capitalist pays for a day's labour power at its value; then the right to use that power for a day belongs to him, just as much as the right to use any other commodity, such as a horse that he has hired for the day. To the purchaser of a commodity belongs its use, and the seller of labour power, by giving his labour, does no more, in reality, than part with the use value that he has sold. From the instant he steps into the workshop, the use value of his labour power, and therefore also its use, which is labour, belongs to the capitalist." (Marx: 'Capital, Volume I' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 35'; Moscow; 1983; p.195; English Edition).

The product of their labor is thus parted from the worker and they are paid only a part of the value of their labor as wages. The remaining part, the "surplus", flows to the capitalists. Because this of production leads to the creation of classes and the exploitation of one class by the other, labor under capitalism is ultimately alienated and not creative labor.

Marx envisions created labor under communism: "In fact, the realm of freedom actually begins only where labour which is determined by necessity and mundane considerations ceases;" (Marx: 'Capital, Volume 3' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 37'; Moscow; 1983; p.807; English Edition).

It is clear to Marx that: "Freedom in this field can only consist in socialised man, the associated producers, rationally regulating their interchange with Nature, bringing it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by the blind forces of Nature;" (ibid).

All of world society is more and more splitting itself into two large hostile camps, in two large camps directly hostile to each other: the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat.

The labor power of the workers is a commodity – and a commodity that serves to add value. The wage worker, as a worker who doesn't own their own means of labor and belongs to the propertyless class of the workers in the capitalist society, sells their labor power to the owner of the land, the factories, the means of labor. If the capitalist has purchased the means of labor, they have the right to use them. A part of the working

day is used to cover their and their family's necessary expenses; in another part, however, the worker works for free; they create surplus value for the capitalist. They are the source of profit, the source of wealth for the capitalist class. Surplus value can increase mainly through two methods: through the lengthening of the working day ("absolute surplus value") and through the shortening of the necessary working day ("relative surplus value"). In shortening the working day, the state authority acts first in favor of *lengthening* the working day (14th – 17th centuries) and then in favor of *shortening* it.

With the arrival of monopolies and the development of imperialism as the highest and final stage of capitalism arose the super profit, which turns into monopoly profit.

The whole mechanism of the production of surplus value and the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists hidden behind the purchase of labor power is a cornerstone of the economic theories of Marxism, with which the untenability of the theses of the yellow unions become exposed, namely the so-called "harmony" of class interests (class collaboration) between the working class and the bourgeoisie.

As the accumulation of capital accelerates the displacement of the worker by the machine and produces wealth at one pole and misery at the other pole, it produces the so-called "industrial reserve army", the "relative abundance" of workers or the "capitalist overpopulation", which takes extraordinarily diverse forms and enables capital to expand production at extraordinarily rapid rates.

"The expropriation of the immediate producers was accomplished with the merciless Vandalism, and under the

stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious. Self earned private property, that is based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent labouring individual with the conditions of his labour, is supplanted by capitalistic private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labour of others, i.e., on wage labour.

"(...) That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the labourer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many labourers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralisation of capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralisation, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the co-operative form of the labour process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economising of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialised labour, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of

labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. Thus integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." (Marx: 'Capital, Volume I' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 35'; Moscow; 1983; p.750; English Edition).

"In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed - a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

"Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simply, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and therefore also of labour, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labour increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work exacted in a given time or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

"But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalised, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeoisie and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

"Now and then, the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralise the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required

centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

"(...) All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole super incumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

"(...) And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

"The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage labour. Wage labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to

association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

"(...) But does wage labour create any property for the labourer? Not a bit. It creates capital, i.e., that kind of property which exploits wage labour, and which cannot increase except upon condition of begetting a new supply of wage labour for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage labour. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

"To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social *status* in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

"Capital is, therefore, not a personal, it is a social power.

"When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character.

"Let us now take wage labour.

"The average price of wage labour is the minimum wage, i.e., that quantum of the means of subsistence, which is absolutely

requisite to keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer. What, therefore, the wage-labourer appropriates by means of his labour, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labour, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labour of others. All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the labourer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it.

"In bourgeois society, living labour is but a means to increase accumulated labour. In Communist society, accumulated labour is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the labourer." (Marx and Engels: 'Manifesto of the Communist Party'; Moscow; 1977; p.42-43, 44-45; 46, 47; 48; 49; 50-51; English Edition).

In the capitalist society the working wage is the monetary expression of the value of labor power, its price, as it appears to be the price of labor. The working wage disguises the exploitative capitalist relationship and gives the false notion that all the labor of the worker is paid, while the working wage is in reality only the price of their *labor power*.

The fundamental forms of the working wage is the time wage and the piece wage (task wage). With the piece wage, the amount of the worker's income is determined by the quantity of the products produced, processed, and transformed by the worker or services rendered.

In order to increase the surplus value, the capitalists apply different incentive wage systems which lead to a tremendous increase in the intensity of work, workload, and an accelerated wear and tear (for example, "burn-out").

Unlike the disparity of prices of other commodities, the price of labor power usually goes downwards in its value. Through the lowest wages, such as the those for labor by women and children or those by agricultural workers, especially in the poor countries, capital strengthens its exploitation of the working class.

The nominal wage is the sum of money, that the worker had sold their labor power to the capitalists for. The actual wage expresses the wage of the worker's means of subsistence. It shows the amount of means of subsistence and the services the worker can buy with their money wage. With the development of world capitalism, the actual wage fell worldwide.

The deviations of the labor wage from the value of labor value has its limits. The minimum limits of the labor wage under capitalism are determined by purely physical conditions: the worker must have a certain amount of means of subsistence at their disposal that is absolutely necessary for them to survive and reproduce their labor power.

"If the price of labour power fall to this minimum, it falls below its value, since under such circumstances it can be maintained and developed only in a crippled state." (Marx: 'Capital, Volume 1' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 35'; Moscow; 1983; p.183; English Edition).

When the loans fall below this limit, then an accelerated process of direct physical destruction of labor power and the decimation of the wage-earners takes place. This is expressed in the reduction of the average lifespan, the decline in birth rates, the increase and exacerbation of illnesses and an increase in mortality rates within the working class, especially in the poor countries.

The development of capitalism leads to the fact that with accumulation of capital of one pole of the bourgeois class society, enormous riches are more and more concentrated and luxury and parasitism, corruption, waste, and the idleness of the exploiting classes.

On the other pole, the exploitation of the world proletariat intensifies more and more, the unemployment and misery of those who create all the wealth with their labor grows.

"The greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the extent and energy of its growth, and, therefore, also the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productiveness of its labour, the greater is the industrial reserve army. (...) The relative mass of the industrial reserve army increases therefore with the potential energy of wealth. But the greater this reserve army in proportion to the active labour army, the greater is the mass of a consolidated surplus population, whose misery is in inverse ratio to its torment of labour." (Marx: 'Capital, Volume I' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 35'; Moscow; 1983; p.638; English Edition).

With the development of capitalism the process of *relative* and *absolute* impoverishment of the world proletariat takes place.

The *relative* impoverishment of the world proletariat consists in the fact that in bourgeois society the share of the international working class in the total sum of world income is decreasing while the share of the exploiting classes is constantly increasing.

The *absolute* impoverishment of the proletariat means a direct drop in the standard of living. And for all those who question the absolute impoverishment, here is a quote by Lenin:

"The worker is becoming impoverished *absolutely*, i.e., he is actually becoming poorer than before; he is compelled to live worse, to eat worse, to suffer hunger more, and to live in basements and attics.

"(...) Wealth in capitalist society is growing at an incredible rate--side by side with the impoverishment of the mass of the workers." (Lenin: 'Impoverishment in Capitalist Society' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 18'; Moscow; 1978; p.435-436; English Edition).

Characteristic features of *absolute* impoverishment are expressed in the drop of real wages, in the increase in the extent and duration of unemployment, the drastic decline of working conditions and the housing shortage, the increased death rates and the decrease in life expectancy. The absolute impoverishment takes its most blunt forms in the poor countries.

The development of world capitalism is the path of the impoverishment of the vast majority of the world population. The growth of productive forces brings no ease, but more misery and poverty to the working masses.

The economic law of imperialism is as follows:

The securing of capitalist maximization of profits through the ruination and impoverishment of almost the entire global population, through the subjugation and the systematic plundering of the people of all countries and the world proletariat above all, through wars of plunder and the militarization of the world economy, through the destruction of nature, which is ruthlessly exploited.

The maximum limits of working wages in capitalism is in the worth of labor power. The extent to which the average wage level reaches that limit is determined by the inter-relationship between the class forces of the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie. In the pursuit of profit maximization, the bourgeoisie tries to bring working wages below the minimum limit. The working class fights against wage theft, against the shortening of wages, for equal wages for equal work, etc. In this struggle the working class not only faces the entire capitalist class, but also the bourgeois state and bourgeois unions.

"Competition is the completest expression of the battle of all against all within rules in modern civil society. This battle, a battle for life, for existence, for everything, in case of need a battle of life and death, is fought not between the different classes of society only, but also between the individual members of these classes. Each is in the way of the other, and

each seeks to crowd out all who are in his way, and to put himself in their place. The workers are in constant competition among themselves as the members of the bourgeoisie among themselves. The power-loom weaver is in competition with the hand-loom weaver, the unemployed or ill-paid hand-loom weaver with him who has work or is better paid, each trying to supplant the other. But this competition of the workers among themselves is the worst side of the present state of things in its effect upon the worker, the sharpest weapon against the proletariat in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Hence the effort of the workers to modify this competition by associations, hence the hatred of the bourgeoisie towards these associations, and its triumph in every defeat which befalls them." (Engels: 'The Condition of the Working-Class in England' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 4'; Moscow; 1975; p.375-376; English Edition).

The working class, united in class unions, leads the struggle for the shortening of working day, for the improvement of working conditions and wage increases.

The world proletariat however cannot free itself from wage slavery through the economic struggle within the framework of capitalism alone. Only with the elimination of capitalist modes of production, with the communization of the world capitalist relations of production by means of World Socialist Revolution can the conditions for the economic and political oppression of the working class be eliminated.

We want to abolish wage slavery.

Excerpt from the World Programme of the Comintern (SH):

"The working classes alone are the ones who produce all the values of which they are deprived.

"The sale of labor power to the capitalist is the cornerstone of the capitalist exploitation of the worker.

"The worker must produce more than he gets paid for the value of his labor-power. This surplus-value, emanating from unpaid labor, is appropriated by the capitalist privately.

"Lenin teaches:

"Capitalist technology is increasingly, day by day, *outgrowing* the social conditions which condemn the working people to wage-slavery." (Lenin: 'A Great Technical Achievement' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 19; Moscow; 1977; p.62; English Edition).

"We want to abolish the increasing split of the world society, between a small propertied class (choking on its abundance), and the large, propertyless class of wage laborers (whose existence is not even protected by the wages).

"We want to abolish unemployment and to remove the global army of unemployed (dissolution of the international proletarian reserve-army). World communism is a world in which everybody works for communism of his own free will.

"The replacement of the economic conditions of wage slavery through the conditions of free associated labor is only possible by a longer period of economic transition. In the period of world socialism, the world proletariat implements increasingly

the socialization of world-production and - distribution. Every man becomes a working man, and productive labor ceases to be confined to class society if wage slavery will have been once abolished all over the world. The surplus-labour is no longer based on the existence of classes, but will be used as the indispensable pre-condition of the construction of a classless society. Each world-worker is systematically integrated into a world economy plan, which will be jointly created, organized, and implemented by the workers of the whole world. The fulfillment of the world economy plan directly serves the World Commune, no matter how specific the character of each individual communist work would be.

"In order to create ever better conditions for world communism, the situation of the workers and peasants must have already been radically improved in world socialism. The working day is to be reduced to five hours. Across-the-board wage increase must be harmonized with the increasing productivity and needs of the workers and peasants. Prices for daily needs (rent etc.) must permanently be reduced. The pay gaps must be reduced (towards a relation of 1:2). Model of controlling the global wage differentiation is the former socialist Albania of comrade Enver Hoxha. Education and health care must be available for free, etc. All this serves to guarantee the active participation of the workers and peasants at the socialist life, serves to develop one's own socialist personality, serves to education and cultural need satisfaction etc. More and more opportunities will be systematically opened to promote the elements of communist labor (conscious, voluntary work in the service of the society).
(Lenin: 'Communist Subbotniks are extraordinary valuable as the actual beginning of communism. The communist organisation of social labour the first step towards which is socialism, rests, and

will do so more and more as time goes on, on the free and conscious discipline of the working people themselves', Volume 29, page 427).

"Lenin defined communist work as follows:

""Communist labour in the narrower and stricter sense of the term is labour performed gratis for the benefit of society, labour performed not as a definite duty, not for the purpose of obtaining a right to certain products, not according to previously established and legally fixed quotas, but voluntary labour, irrespective of quotas; it is labour performed without expectation of reward, without reward as a condition, labour performed because it has become a habit to work for the common good, and because of a conscious realisation (that has become a habit) of the necessity of working for the common good—labour as the requirement of a healthy organism. '
(Lenin, Collective Works, Volume 30, page 517).

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"World Communist work is voluntary work for the common good of all people and for the good of every single person on the globe. This world-communist labor developed in embryonic form as early as world capitalism. And its great variety of forms (developed in the period of world socialism) will be of decisive significance in world history. The advance of world-communist labor is one of the corner stones for the successful transition to world communism. The world-socialist work turns into world-communist work through scheduled transition of quantity into a new quality. The most outstanding feature of communist labor is the transformation of labor in the first life need of every able-bodied member of the World Commune.

"The provision of surplus-labour remains indispensable - as in all social formations - even in world communism, namely for the further future trend of the world society.

"Surplus-labour in general, as labour performed over and above the given requirements, must always remain. In the capitalist as well as in the slave system, etc., it merely assumes an antagonistic form and is supplemented by complete idleness of a stratum of society. A definite quantity of surplus-labour is required as insurance against accidents, and by the necessary and progressive expansion of the process of reproduction in keeping with the development of the needs and the growth of population, which is called accumulation from the viewpoint of the capitalist. It is one of the civilising aspects of capital that it enforces this surplus-labour in a manner and under conditions which are more advantageous to the development of the productive forces, social relations, and the creation of the elements for a new and higher form than under the

preceding forms of slavery, serfdom, etc. Thus it gives rise to a stage, on the one hand, in which coercion and monopolisation of social development (including its material and intellectual advantages) by one portion of society at the expense of the other are eliminated; on the other hand, it creates the material means and embryonic conditions, making it possible in a higher form of society to combine this surplus-labour with a greater reduction of time devoted to material labour in general.' (Marx, Capital, MEW, Volume III, page 571)."

The work done for society that serves the expansion for production, education, healthcare, administrative expenses, the formation of reserves, etc., is just as urgent as the work spent on covering the consumption needs of the working class.

It is a fact that the yellow unions defend wage slavery, while Marxism has declared relentless struggle against slavery. Expecting an impartial or non-partisan union in a society of wage slavery would be as foolishly naïve as to expect impartiality from factory owners on the question of whether or not one should raise the wages of workers and cut the profit of capital.

The capital created by the labor of the workers ruins the small owners and generates an army of the unemployed.

The capitalist order, which increases the dependence of the worker on capital, at the same time a formidable united labor force.

Capitalism has triumphed throughout the world, but this victory is only the precursor to the victory of labor over capital.

The workers in the yellow union are invariably the victims of deception and self-deception and they will always be as long as they do not learn to search for the interests of the capitalists behind all possible economic, political, and social phrases, declarations, and promises made by the leaders of the yellow unions. The supporters of reforms and improvements will always be duped by the defenders of the capitalist system as long as they do not comprehend that the yellow unions are found in the hands of the yellow unions are decided by the ruling class. In order to break the resistance of the capitalists, there is only one mean: to find, enlighten, and organize the struggle for the forces inside and outside the yellow unions capable – and compelled due to their social conditions – to form the force capable of sweeping away the old yellow unions and creating new red unions – the revolutionary forces of the world proletariat.

The RILU fights for the achievement of the immediate purposes and interests of the world proletariat, but at the same time it represents present union movement along with the future of the union movement.

Through fighting for an improvement in living conditions, the working class grows morally as well as spiritually and politically, becoming more capable of realizing its great aims of freedom.

The Working World under Socialism

Instead of the securing of maximum profits – securing of maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the socialist world society; instead of the development of world production with interruptions from booms to crises and from crises to booms – uninterrupted growth of world production; instead of periodic interruptions in world revolutionary scientific-technical development, along with the destruction of the productive forces of the world – uninterrupted advance of world production on the basis of scientific-technical revolution. Instead of anarchy of production in individual countries – planned development of a world socialist economic system.

"(...) the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques." (Stalin: 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.'; Moscow; 1952; p.45; English Edition).

Stalin:

"The worker today is not what he was previously. The worker today, our Soviet worker, wants to have all his material and cultural needs satisfied: in respect of food, housing conditions, cultural and all sorts of other requirements. He has a right to this, and it is our duty to secure these conditions for him. True, our worker does not suffer from unemployment; he is free from the yoke of capitalism; he is no longer a slave, but the master of his job. But this is not enough. He demands that all his material and cultural requirements be met, and it is our duty to fulfil this demand of his. Do not forget that we ourselves are now making certain demands on the worker - we

demand from him labour discipline, intense effort, emulation, shock-brigade work. Do not forget that the vast majority of workers have accepted these demands of the Soviet Government with great enthusiasm and are fulfilling them heroically. Do not be surprised, therefore, if, while fulfilling the demands of the Soviet Government, the workers in their turn demand that the Soviet Government should fulfil its obligations in regard to further improving their material and cultural condition." (Stalin: 'New Conditions – New Tasks' in: 'Works, Volume 13'; Moscow; 1954; p.61-62; English Edition).

Marx taught:

""(...) to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations."" (Marx: 'Statement' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 10'; Moscow; 1978; 387-388; English Edition).

In order to put the principle of compensation according to the quality and quantity of the work done into practice, there is the socialist wage system. This system is uniform for the whole world, centralized and obligatory for all.

"Equal wages for equal work" – this is another important principle of the wage system under world socialism. This reflects not only the demand of socialist justice, but also eliminates every discrimination based on sex, nationality, race, age, etc. This principle is the guarantee of economic equality equality for women and an important success in the struggle for their total emancipation.

"Equal wages for equal work" – that does not mean the equalization of wage groups. In world socialism, the difference between higher and lower qualified work remains, which must be compensated accordingly.

Tendential reduction of the wage margin serves the general increase in wages, the elevation of welfare for the working class as a whole, especially as far as the higher compensation of heavy physical labor is concerned.

The class division of society is based off the law of the division of labor. An important goal for the implementation of socialist wage policies is to facilitate the transition to world communism, the abolition of the class character of the division of physical and mental labor.

Wages are guaranteed in the world socialist state. The level of wages is conditioned by the economic potential of world socialist state, by the worth of social production, by labor productivity and the relationship between socialist accumulation fund and social and personal consumption. In determining the level of wages the world socialist wage system always strives for the lowest disparity between the incomes of the workers of different countries, cities, and towns. The technical-professional level of the workers is also accounted for.

The world socialist wage system is based on certain proportions of labor compensation in the different branches of the economy and on the different groups of workers. For example, heavy labor is paid higher than light labor. A higher wage is also provided for work done under difficult conditions

as well as for work requiring a higher degree of qualification in comparison to lighter or less qualified work. Work in the main branches and sectors of economy are similarly paid more than work in other sectors of the economy.

Above all, a concrete wage policy will meet the requirements of compensation according to the quality and quantity of the work performed. At the same time, it must however not be allowed to fall into egalitarianism, into an equalization of wages. At the same time, we must not allow wage disparities that could lead to greater differences in the standard of living for workers. This is very important because it prevents the formation of privileged social strata among the workers, such as a labor aristocracy or a new bureaucracy as the bitter experience of the revisionist countries had shown. Such a bureaucracy, disconnected from the masses, becomes the social support for revisionism whose goal is the degeneration of socialist order and the restoration of capitalism.

Throughout the course of measures for revolutionizing all life the world over, the high wages will be lowered and the low wages will be raised, furthermore the wage tax will be abolished and there will also be many more measures for improving the wage system.

In this way correct wage ratios can be established. For example, the ratio between the wage of an ordinary worker in the metal industry and that of a qualified worker would be 1:1.17, to illustrate proportionality. The salary of an engineer is at most 20% higher than a qualified worker. The director of a metalworking industry can earn at most 50% than a qualified worker.

The director of a mine earns up to 20% more than a qualified miner, while a Deputy Minister can only earn 30-50% more. Similar ratios are set for the compensation of workers or workplace managers in other branches of the economy, culture, and administration.

No more than 2 wage levels are to be aimed for all workers worldwide without exception. Various criteria are applied when setting up wages. First and foremost, the wage groups are determined according to the workplace taking the work processes into account. In this way the principle of compensation according to the quantity and quality of the work done is satisfied. If a worker has to perform more work categories throughout the working day, they are compensated according to the labor labor group they were classified by their training. If a time needed for the manufacturing of a product be standardized, or the output can be determined by the unit of time, the workers will be paid in piece wages. For the workplaces, where there is no such possibility for wage calculation, the time wage is applied.

In relation to the wage fund, each plant creates a special fund from which 60% is intended for premiums for the best workers, as well as assistance for workers in special cases such as family emergencies, etc.

In addition to the income for the work performed, the workers also enjoy other benefits and rights. They have the right to an annual paid vacation – the same vacation days in any country in the world. Those who want to continue their education without interrupting their work are entitled to paid education leave. Likewise, they are entitled to work one hour less each day without deductions in their wages. This benefit is valid for

the entire training or studying period. Furthermore, workers receive full pay when they are engaged in designated, social or governmental duties. Free tuition and healthcare are enshrined in law. Every worker can eat at the work canteen as they wish, where they only pay for the net price of dishes. Every worker is insured in case of illness, workplace accidents, invalidity, old age, etc. The workers will have nothing deducted from their wages for social security. Plants and other institutions pay a certain percentage of their respective wage fund to the state health plan. In addition, workers can spend their vacations in recreation homes, where they only pay a small contribution to cover the costs.

In world socialism, the first route is to increase the real wage. This is done primarily through price reductions. It is necessary to avoid the increase in food prices, which the production depends on the harvest or on weather conditions.

The highest goal of the working world in socialism is the car for humanity, the continuous increase of their material and cultural status. This is found in the area of social security, pensions, and labor relations. Social security creates a comprehensive system that is based on the principle that every worker and their dependents are insured against the inability to work. This insurance is enshrined in the constitution of the world socialist state, which is unconditionally and without restrictions applied to all workers of the many enterprises, institutions, mass organizations and others, of all economic branches and departments worldwide. Not a single worker in the world has to pay for insurance.

The range of insurance includes, apart from medical help which is provided to all citizens of the world without charge

and without exception, payment of an illness allowance that amounts to up to 85% of wages or salaries in cases of provisional inability to work, the securing of moderate prices for meals in factory canteens, the securing of means for education, body culture and sports, for the organizing of hiking tours, for recreation in resorts and vacation homes, in which the worker only pays a small part of the expenses, for cures in climatic areas, in spas, for helping with caring for sick children or other family members who are not employed, old-age pensions, invalidity pensions, service pensions, survivors' pensions and other benefits of this type, all of which aim for the improvement of the material and conditions of the workers.

The seniority determined for the preservation of the pension worldwide depends on the on the labor category that the worker has performed and on the difficulty of the labor. Workers are divided into three categories. According to this classification, those who perform heavy work earlier are pensioned even with fewer years of service. The workers of this category receive their pension at the age of 50 after 20 years of service; those in the second category at the age of 55 after 25 years of service; the third category at the age of 60 after 25 years of service. In each of these categories, women receive the pension 5 years earlier than men, both in terms of age and years of service. The pension is calculated on the basis of 75% of the average monthly wage or salary: assuming that the worker has reached a certain length of service and a certain age, they can in any case expect a minimum pension.

For the different forms of assistance from the state, the working people, in order to be considered insured, do not need to make any financial contributions – to state insurance or in

any other form. All means of social security are financed by the state worldwide from the world socialist economy.

A very important feature of the world state insurance system is that it is directed by the workers themselves. This principle finds its expression in its application through them, through the policy of the Comintern (SH) and its mass line. They lie in the hands of the state, which is led by the working class, with its Party at the head.

The workers have the right to express their views, to make suggestions and proposals, to submit requests, complaints and grievances as well as to exercise their direct control. The strengthened workers' control and the control through the unions in the application of the laws best expresses the profound democratic character of social security under world socialism.

The Working World of Communism

The economic constitution of world communism is the absolute consensus of productive forces and relations of production at such a high level of their development, where people must spend less and less time and labor for unavoidable global material production and in return satisfy their needs more and better.

It is the maximum satisfaction of the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the entire world society through the gradual minimization of the time and labor needed for the actual sphere of world production, based off the abundant

supply of goods, a maximum level of productivity and the permanent revolutionization of science and technology (see the World Programme of the Comintern [SH]).

"When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

"In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." (Marx, Engels: 'Manifesto of the Communist Party'; Moscow; 1977; p.59-60; English Edition).

"There was a time when economic life was impossible without feudal discipline, when there was only one kind of discipline---the discipline of the lash; and there was a time of the rule of the capitalists, when the disciplinary force was starvation. But now, with the Soviet revolution, with the beginning of the socialist revolution, discipline must be built on entirely new principles; it must be a discipline of faith in the organising

power of the workers and poor peasants, a discipline of comradeship, a discipline of the utmost mutual respect, a discipline of independence and initiative in the struggle. Anyone who resorts to the old capitalist methods, anyone who at a time of famine and want argues in the old, capitalist way---if I sell grain on my own, I shall make a bigger profit; if I set out on my own to get grain, I shall get it easier--- anyone who argues in that way may be choosing the easier path, but he will never arrive at socialism." (Lenin: 'Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' Peasants', Soldiers' and Red Army Deputies' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 27'; Moscow; 1974; p.515-516; English Edition).

We seek to realize the Working Commune of Lenin – the organization of the working world of the communist type.

Stalin taught about the working world under communism:

"In the second phase of communist society, the amount of labour expended on the production of goods will be measured not in a roundabout way, not through value and its forms, as is the case under commodity production, but directly and immediately---by the amount of time, the number of hours, expended on the production of goods. As to the distribution of labour, its distribution among the branches of production will be regulated not by the law of value, which will have ceased to function by that time, but by the growth of society's demand for goods. It will be a society in which production will be regulated by the requirements of society and computation of the requirements of society will acquire paramount importance for the planning bodies." (Stalin: 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.'; Moscow; 1952; p.26-27; English Edition).

"(...) before we can pass to the formula, 'to each according to his needs,' we shall have to pass through a number of stages of economic and cultural re-education of society, in the course of which work will be transformed in the eyes of society from only a means of supporting life into life's prime want, and social property into the sacred and inviolable basis of the existence of society." (ibid; p.74).

"The economic basis of the antithesis between mental and physical labour is the exploitation of the physical workers by the mental workers. Everyone is familiar with the gulf which under capitalism divided the physical workers of enterprises from the managerial personnel. We know that this gulf gave rise to the hostile attitude on the part of the workers towards managers, foremen, engineers and other members of the technical staff, whom the workers regarded as their enemies. Naturally, with the abolition of capitalism and the exploiting system, the antagonism of interests between physical and mental labour was also bound to disappear. And it really has disappeared in our present socialist system. Today, the physical workers and the managerial personnel are not enemies, but comrades and friends, members of a single collective body of producers who are vitally interested in the progress and improvement of production. Not a trace remains of the former enmity between them." (ibid; p.31).

"In order to pave the way for a real, and not declaratory transition to communism, at least three main preliminary conditions have to be satisfied.

"1. It is necessary, in the first place, to ensure, not a mythical 'rational organization' of the productive forces, but a continuous expansion of all social production, with a relatively higher state of expansion of the production of means of production. The relatively higher rate of expansion of production of means of production is necessary not only because it has to provide the equipment both for its own plants and for all the other branches of the national economy, but also because reproduction on an extended scale becomes altogether impossible without it.

"2. It is necessary, in the second place, by means of gradual transitions carried out to the advantage of the collective farms, and hence, of all society, to raise collective-farm property to the level of public property, and, also by means of gradual transition, to replace commodity circulation by a system of products-exchange, under which the central government, or some other social-economic centre, might control the whole product of social production in the interests of society.

"(...) 3. It is necessary, in the third place, to ensure such a cultural advancement of society as will secure for all members of society the all-round development of their physical and mental abilities, so that the members of society may be in a position to receive an education sufficient to enable them to be active agents of social development, and in a position freely to choose their occupations and not be tied all their lives, owing to the existing division of labour, to some one occupation.

"What is required for this?

"(...) Only after *all* these preliminary conditions are satisfied in their entirety may it be hoped that work will be converted in the eyes of the members of society from a nuisance into 'life's prime want' (Marx), that 'labour will become a pleasure instead of a burden' (Engels), and that social property will be regarded by all members of society as the sacred and inviolable basis of the existence of society.

"Only after *all* these preliminary conditions have been satisfied in their entirety will it be possible to pass from the socialist formula, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work,' to the communist formula, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'" (ibid; p.74-77).

Chapter II

Historical Retrospective

To whom does the unions belong to?

It invariably belongs to the class in power.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches:

The class that rules class society also rules the unions.

The capitalist unions belong to the capitalists.

Only the red unions belong to the workers and are the class unions of the proletariat.

The question of whom the unions belong to is a crucial class question that we must place in front of every worker in this Red Union Handbook. And no one can answer this question better than Karl Marx.

"Thirdly, Trades Unions work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerrilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organised forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system." (Marx: 'Value, Price, Profit' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 20'; Moscow; 1985; p.149; English Edition).

By representing Karl Marx's conception, we distinguish ourselves from all opportunist conceptions. Our Red Union Handbook is a declaration of war against all who oppose and defy our Marxist conception. We communists are not only the staunchest opponents of unions that serve to uphold wage slavery, but also the only force in the world that educates and mobilizes all people to eliminate the exploitation and oppression of man by man forever.

We consider it our task in the union book to free the unions from the fetters of world capitalism because without this precondition, we workers cannot free ourselves from the fetters of world capitalism either.

The total bankruptcy of the yellow unions, their total failure to even hold previously won positions is glaring proof of the ineffectiveness of their methods of struggle.

The period of globalization, the new conditions of globalized struggle and the unprecedented sharpness of world conflicts require new, namely globalized methods of struggle and a new, central approach to all critical questions of the international labor movement.

Reformism does not spring out from concern for the interests of the working class, but for the maintenance of bourgeois society shaken by crises. The advocates of the yellow unions are forced to admit in the current crises that their line of class collaboration has failed.

We must contrast the globally centralized organization of the capitalists with the globally centralized organization of the working class.

This Red Union Handbook starts with the fundamental premise that it is necessary to wage a direct, straightforward mass revolutionary war against capitalism. The basic idea that permeates this Red Union Handbook is the mobilization of the masses for direct revolutionary action on a world scale.

The task of the revolutionary unions is to organize the masses politically and on the ground of the daily class struggle for an offensive against capitalism.

Let's make the RILU the global center of revolutionary unions of all countries.

Since the agencies of capital are organized in the international union movement, the struggle against them must also have an international character.

The time has come for the international army of workers to unite under the red banner of the proletarian revolution.

The workers of the world under the conditions of the disintegration of capitalism are convincing themselves that capitalism is not omnipotent, that the power of capital is only due to their own weakness, their disorganization in the struggle.

World Proletariat – unite the red unions of the all countries!

The RILU understands the development of unions as a dialectical-historical process.

a) Applying the dialectical law of negation of negation, the unions under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie have transformed themselves from an instrument of organized union of the workers in the factories into capitalist agencies within the camp of the working class.

b) Then, at a higher stage, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the unions transformed into socialist unions "in one country" and gave birth to the RILU.

c) The restoration of capitalism triggered the elimination of socialist unions and the restoration of bourgeois-revisionist unions, both on a national and international scale (such as with the dissolution of the RILU in 1937).

d) Through Hoxhaism, red anti-revisionist unions emerged in Socialist Albania as a negation. The revolutionary union opposition on a world scale then emerged from the Hoxhaist World Movement.

e) And only after the fall of the dictatorship of the proletariat in anti-revisionist socialist Albania, after the transformation of the higher stage of development of the socialist unions of Albania into capitalist unions, as well as after the disintegration of the Hoxhaist world union movement, the new RILU was formed in 2003 at the highest stage of its development, namely on the ground of Stalinism-Hoxhaism as a transmission belt of the Comintern (SH).

This is in shortest form the dialectic of the historical development of the unions from the perspective of the RILU.

The old slogan of 1919 "Moscow or Amsterdam?" can be found again as a new slogan:

"Yellow or Red Unions?"

The struggle between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie is a struggle between communism and anti-communism, which also runs like a red thread through the entire history of the world union movement.

Whoever upholds class reconciliation, class collaboration, chains the unionist to the shackles of the international and national bourgeoisie, opposes the world dictatorship of the proletariat, supports reformism and revisionism against the world revolution, supports world capital against world socialism. Moreover, it supports imperialist world politics and its governments that exploit and oppress the poor countries, colonies and semi-colonies. This means that today's international union federations oppose the anti-imperialist liberation struggle. Industrial peace instead of class struggle in the workplace, truce instead of civil war, reform instead of revolution, etc. All this characterizes today's international union federations which have put themselves at the service of world capital and are preventing the workers from transforming the world capitalist crisis into the World Socialist Revolution. They do not want the elimination of capitalism, but want to save it from communism. They are anti-communist unions through and through, opponents of the intensification of global class struggles. On all of these issues, the international unions today are the total antithesis of the Red International of Labour Unions. And this is precisely the reason for the irreconcilable struggle of two lines on the union question: the struggle between the supporters and opponents of a class struggle aimed at the overthrow of world capital and the socialist power of the world proletariat.

The Red International of Labour Unions is a lever of the World Socialist Revolution in the hands of the world proletariat.

All other international union federations are a lever AGAINST the World Socialist Revolution, in the hands of the world bourgeoisie and its agencies within the working class.

In light of the experience of the history of the world union movement, we call out to unionists around the world:

"Don't expect anything from the bourgeois reformist-revisionist leaders, they have betrayed you and they will betray you again and again!"

"Put your fate into your own hands, fight against the reactionary unions within and without and organize the RILU!"

"Prepare yourselves to fight against capitalism, otherwise you will not be able to free yourselves from wage slavery!"

How did the Red International of Labour Unions come into being?

**Union lessons of the October Revolution
for the World Socialist Revolution**

With the collapse of the Second International, the international relations of the unions, which had existed since the beginning of the 20th Century, also collapsed. Then during the war, most of the unions, as social-patriots ("defenders of the fatherland") sided with their warring imperialist country, almost without exception. The international solidarity of unions in the common struggle against capitalism ended in the trenches, where the unionists were hostile to each other and where they slaughtered

each other under the battle cry of social-imperialist union leaders, those lackeys of the imperialists.

In January 1918, the first union congress of Soviet Russia made the decision to re-establish the international union federation after the First World War. That was one and a half years before the foundation of the yellow Amsterdam International (!).

The forces of the red unions were, however, tied up by the Civil War so the decision couldn't be implemented immediately. During the Civil War, any links with foreign unions had been blocked by the imperialists. The world capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union was also carried out in the field of unions. The world was divided into two camps – the world capitalist camp and the world socialist camp. And this also inevitably meant the division of the world union movement, especially the encirclement and international isolation of the Soviet unions, which caused not only the protests against the yellow unions, but also the solidarity of the Soviet unions. As workers in the unions of capitalist countries became aware that the October Revolution served the interests of the entire world proletariat, sympathy for Soviet Russia, for the Soviet unions, grew rapidly.

At first, the leftist forces in the foreign union were still too weakened by the First World War to be able to threaten the yellow union leaders. But after the war, the world union movement quickly gained momentum.

There was a call to establish a common World Union International, uniting all unionists of the world, regardless of ideology, parties, race, religion, etc.

a world union representing the union interests of the workers of all countries against the interests of the capitalists – this is what the Soviet unions had been working for from the beginning.

This failed because of the yellow union leaders who from the beginning placed themselves at the service of world imperialism – not class struggle but class reconciliation, not revolution but class peace, not socialism but capitalism.

These representatives of the sell-out labor aristocracy did everything they could to isolate the revolutionary of Soviet Russia from the workers of Europe and America.

To this day, the bourgeois union leaders have never given up their socialist-imperialist, social-chauvinist, and social-fascist way of acting. One does not only have to look at the USA, where the unions blindly follow Trump's slogan "America first!". This is not different in any country.

Instead of national solidarity, division of the world union movement, betrayal of workers.

What the yellow union leaders all agreed on from the beginning was and is not their fight against capitalists, but their fight against the communists.

From the beginning, they excluded communist unionists in the capitalist and colonial countries or even handed them over to fascist executioners. The blood of the revolutionary proletariat is on the hands of the social-fascist unions. Today,, the yellow unions are firmly integrated into the world imperialist system of exploitation and oppression. Any attempt by revolutionary

unionists to gain a foothold in the world union movement is prevented by all means and if possible, nipped in the bud.

The ruling anti-communist union federations of today have throughout their history rejected any united front in the struggle against world capitalism. They are the bourgeois agencies within the world union movement so that no one jolts the doors of world capitalism.

Every application for admission in the largest unions in the world at that time, the Soviet trade unions, were rejected by the bourgeois unions.

To this day, the anti-communist unions prove to be a divider in the international union movement.

None of this has helped the yellow unions. They have never been able to extinguish the revolutionary world union movement; it is alive, as the activity of the RILU shows.

On the 100th Anniversary of the Comintern, we do not want to forget the foundation of the Red International of Labour Unions.

How did the Red International of Labour Unions come to be founded at that time?

The representatives of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions were not invited to the Amsterdam Congress held in June 1919, where the Western yellow union leaders founded the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions.

The leading role in the yellow Amsterdam International was played by British imperialism. There sat again all the old leaders of the Second International, which had been restored after the war in February 1919.

And the union representatives in Eastern Europe? And those in the colonial countries? They were also excluded from the foundation of the Amsterdam International.

Most of the world's unionists were not represented by the Amsterdam International at all, only trade unions from the West were represented.

Entire trade union federations that had joined the Amsterdam International were excluded from it again. Aside from its reactionary objectives, the Amsterdam International does not deserve the name of an international simply because it did not in fact represent all the trade unions of the world. And that is not all. The Amsterdam International fought all trade unions that were not included in it. And this cannot be called anything else but a splitting organization within the world trade union movement. And the international solidarity strikes in the individual countries? Nothing was done by the Amsterdam International. A trade union international that does not organize international solidarity in an aggravated situation of struggle such as a strike in one country is not an international.

Not only did opposition groups emerge against the Amsterdam International, but new class unions were even formed. These were unions that did not want to "reform" capitalism, but overthrow it. These included new unions in the colonial countries. The October Revolution marked the beginning of the revolutionary trade union movement in the colonial countries.

Until the liquidation of the RILU in 1937, there was no country in the world where the RILU had no influence.

It was planned to convene an International Labor Union Conference in Petrograd in February 1918. This was prevented by foreign intervention and the Civil War.

It was only after the victorious Civil War that the Soviet trade unions began to establish friendly relations with foreign trade union representatives. That was the time when foreign trade union delegations came to the Soviet Union, despite all the difficulties of entry, to see for themselves the country of the victorious October Revolution. Among them were also those delegates who had been expelled from their unions because of their revolutionary struggle.

The Soviet trade union made renewed attempts to establish a trade union international. In September 1920, a delegation led by Lozovsky attended a meeting with the ADGB in Berlin. Lozovsky brought the greetings of the Soviet trade unions to the German works councils. Lozovsky also attended the Party Congress of the USPD to convince the participants of the establishment of a new union international. For similar visits to France, England, and Italy, no entry visa was granted by the bourgeois governments, so it remained with written greeting addresses. Later, at the Hague Peace Conference, the proposals of the Soviet trade unions were also rejected.

Then, in 1920, the foundation of the RILU was prepared.

The RILU was founded not before but after the Comintern, although the idea had already been formulated at the Third All-Russia Trade Union Conference in June 1917.

In 1917, Lenin included the founding of the Comintern in his April Theses, but not the RILU.

The RILU was the child of the October Revolution.

The resolution of the First All-Russia Congress of Trade Unions of January 1918 stated:

"The Congress considers it its duty to do its utmost to contribute to the rebirth of the world union movement and puts the convening of an International Trade Union Congress and a series of international specialized congresses for the various branches of production on the agenda."

Between 1919 and 1920, discussions were held with foreign union delegations concerning the establishment of a global union.

In 1920, conferences were held in Moscow with participants from England, Italy, Spain, France, Bulgaria, Germany, the USA, Yugoslavia, and Australia. The various ideas represented about a world union diverged widely there (anarcho-syndicalists). The disagreements did not lead to a settlement. Lenin then intervened and suggested that a settlement be reached at least on the cornerstone of a revolutionary world union. Following Lenin's advice, the representatives of the unions of Soviet Russia, Italy, Spain, France, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Georgia signed the declaration on the

foundation of a provisional International Trade Union Council in preparation of the foundation of the RILU.

In April 1920, the manifesto of this provisional Council, addressed towards the unions of all countries for the unification of the class struggle, called for:

"(...) breaking with those who pursue the criminal policy of collaborating with the bourgeoisie, and to place themselves under the banner of relentless class struggle for the liberation of enslaved humanity instead."

"The old union leaders will again try to push the unions down the bourgeois path (...)

"What was it in the old unions that caused them to capitulate to the bourgeoisie? Their narrow-minded guild spirit to gain advantages over the masses of workers. An exaggerated respect for bourgeois legality. Restriction to representing the interests of the labor aristocracy and disregarding the masses of unskilled workers outside the union. High membership dues that an ordinary worker could not afford.

"A bureaucratic civil service apparatus emerged to manipulate union democracy. The advocacy of a supposedly 'neutral' stance on political questions that was actually support for bourgeois policies."

At the First World Congress of the RILU, the theory of the "neutrality" and "independence" of unions was rejected. There is no neutral class standpoint in a class society. You cannot make a World Socialist Revolution with an independent union, but only with trade unions that support the World Communist

Party. The purely economic struggle of the world proletariat will always come up against the limit of the political world domination of the world bourgeoisie. Politics is a concentrated expression of economics.

Some delegates suggested that the revolutionary unions should simply be incorporated directly into the Comintern. But that would make the RILU superfluous. Lenin therefore opposed those "left" proposals and argued for an independent union organization, affiliated with the Comintern but not only composed of communists but also of non-partisans in favor of the class struggle. Of particular importance was Lenin's book "'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder", which appeared at that exact time in June 1920. As far as the unions were concerned, Lenin had strictly rejected the "left" slogan of leaving the reactionary unions and called on the communists to fight wherever the masses are. One must fight for the masses wherever they are and not leave them helpless to the influence of the yellow union leaders. Any distance from the masses is tantamount with the distance from the World Socialist Revolution.

It was not a question of creating a second international union organization in competition with the existing one. It was about gathering and uniting the revolutionary forces within the unions in order to gain communist influence on the masses of the members in the reformist unions.

Lenin's tactical guideline on the union question was this:

"Do not leave the unions, but conquer the union masses in action!"

Before the RILU was founded, Lenin, with the Comintern, had already worked out and laid down the main theoretical-strategic principles of the union movement with the aim of achieving the victory of communism in the unions.

On the 3rd of July, 1921, the RILU was founded in Moscow on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin's welcoming letter to the RILU said:

"The winning of trade unionists to the ideas of communism is making irresistible headway everywhere, in all countries, throughout the world. The process is sporadic, overcoming a thousand obstacles, but it is making irresistible progress. The International Congress of Trade Unions will quicken this movement. Communism will triumph in the trade unions. Now power on earth can avert the collapse of capitalism and the victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie." (Lenin: " in: 'Collected Works, Volume 32'; Moscow; 1973; p.501; English Edition).

What is the role of the RILU before, during, and after the World Socialist Revolution?

First, the RILU is the defender of the world proletariat against exploitation by the world bourgeoisie.

Then a fighting instrument to overthrow the world bourgeoisie.

And finally, an instrument for building world socialism.

At the First World Congress in 1921, the RILU was founded, the Program and tactical line were set up, and the main slogans of the revolutionary union movement were fixed.

The recognition of the Comintern as a world party was a fundamental condition for the trade union policy of the RILU.

The Founding Congress of the RILU set the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the abolition of wage slavery as its goals.

To establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class not only needs the leading role of the Bolshevik Party in the socialist revolution, its revolutionary guards, red army and other executive organs in order to crush the counter-revolution, smash the bourgeois state and disempower the bourgeoisie.

This also applies to the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

The task of the working class in the socialist revolution is not merely to seize political power. The working class must also take economic power, i.e., expropriate the capitalists, occupy their factories, take control of production and socialize the means of production.

This is also true of the World Socialist Revolution.

The socialization of the means of production is not identical with workers' control. Workers' control is only a first step towards socialization. The socialization of the means of production presupposes workers' control.

Before one can talk about the socialization of productive forces, the factories must be occupied and expropriated. Otherwise, what comes out is what came out of the November Revolution in Germany of 1918/19, nothing at all. Workers' control comes first, and only through the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat – everything else ends sooner or later in capitalism.

On the 27th of November 1917, for the first time in history, a decree on workers' control was passed with the following text:

"The organs of workers' control have the right to supervise production, to ensure the minimum of production output and to take measures to determine production costs.

"The organs of workers' control have the right to control all business correspondences of the company; the concealment of business records is punishable. Trade secrets are abolished. The owners are obliged to hand over their books and accounts for the current year and for previous years to the control bodies. The decisions of the organs of the workers' control are binding to the owners and can only be changed by an order of the highest organs of workers' control." (Translated from German).

That was only the first, and naturally, not the final step toward the complete realization of workers' control. But what was decisive was that this decree was a decree of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The fact that the workers already had the power with the NEP and the capitalists no longer did cannot be ignored. Socialist world production cannot run at full speed on the first day after the victory of the World Revolution.

As for the decree, it was a decree of the armed workers' power. The confiscation of the factories is not carried out through a contract with the capitalists, who voluntarily handed over their factory to the workers as it were by signature, out of pure philanthropy. The confiscation of the means of production is a violent act of the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this purpose the revolutionary proletariat employs armed organs of socialist revolution, which are used for the occupation and the external protection of the factories.

But the decisive role of the expropriation of the plants is played by the workers of the plants themselves.

For the victory of the World Socialist Revolution, the works council system is indispensable in the transformation of capitalist into socialist world production. Without red works councils, no socialization of the means of production. The legal works council system must be instrumentalized by us, must serve the World Socialist Revolution.

The conquest of the plants by the revolution, the occupation and defense of each single factory by the armed workers employed there, is followed by the control of production by the workers, is followed by the transformation of the capitalist private enterprises into socialist state enterprises, the integration of the factories into the political economy of the socialist state and so on.

Neither the capitalist relations of production can be eliminated nor the productive forces socialized without the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is conquered in the socialist revolution.

The red unions and their factory committees (representatives of the industrial proletariat) organized their own armed units not only as organs of enforcement in the October Revolution, not only to protect the factories, but also against such unions as those of office and bank workers, which,, although only a union minority, had sided with the capitalists, with the counter-revolution, and were resisting. The only industrial union that opposed the October Revolution was the printers' union. It wanted to "defend" the "freedom of the press" against the October Revolution.

At the height of the October Revolution, as the proletariat was just gaining its power, the counter-revolution responded in the factories. The capitalists called for strikes, but they could not stop the October Revolution with them. The Red trade unions stood behind Lenin and the Bolshevik Party: strike against the capitalists – yes; strike against its own workers' regime – no. Class struggle against capitalism – yes; class struggle against socialism – no.

The production stop ordered by the capitalists was a means of struggle against the October Revolution. But the machines of the factories were turned back on by the unions. The workers in the factories shut down by the capitalists restarted production under the red union leadership and their factory committees, workers' control – this was of the most important demands of the October Revolution, won only with the fiercest class struggle in the unions.

We draw from this the important lesson that we will start from the beginning the machinery for the construction of world socialism in order to ensure the supply of the world population.

The factories of the entire world will belong to the world proletariat as a whole and therefore to the workers of each factory, because the workers of all the production facilities of the world form the world proletariat together.

The capitalists who refused to accept their predicament either went to prison or were forced to put themselves into the service of the workers.

Most of the former factory owners, however, fled abroad in order to bring their factories – with the support of world capital – back into their private ownership at some point. In the World Socialist Revolution however, there will no longer be a country on earth where the capitalists can crawl away to restore capitalism from there. This is the difference between the World Revolution and the October Revolution.

The trade unions which hitherto served as the organs of struggle of the working class under capitalist conditions were, for the first time in history, transformed into organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the October Revolution. [Resolutions of the 9th Congress of the C.P.R. (B.)].

The First Russian Trade Union Congress of 1918 held that the October Victory of the workers and the poor peasants meant at the same time the beginning of the international socialist revolution, the victory over the capitalist system of world production.

All that took place in the Russian trade unions during the October Revolution will inevitably be repeated in one form or another in the world trade union movement. This will be one of the most important lessons for the World Socialist Revolution.

This is what we will prepare for. What the workers were forced to do in the October Revolution, namely to spontaneously solve all problems, will be prepared and carried out systematically and according to plan from the very beginning in the World Socialist Revolution – a workers' control of the globalized world proletariat under the leadership of the Comintern (SH) through its RILU.

And all that happened in Russia influenced the entire world trade union movement at that time, in which the contradictions between the reformist and revolutionary paths of the unions also had to find their organizational expression. The RILU only came into being after the establishment of the Bolshevik union organizations in the Soviet Union (January 1918), which served as a model for the RILU. At the First Congress of All-Russia Trade Unions, a resolution mentioned the creation of a left-wing international trade union as a point – as a counterweight to the Amsterdam International. In April 1920, the All-Russia Trade Union representatives were admitted into the Comintern.

With the October Revolution, the solution to the question "Reform or revolution?" was on the agenda – as well as on the agenda of the world trade union movement. With the founding of the RILU, there is a revolutionary and a reformist world trade union movement.

The RILU was a central instrument for the spreading of international communism in the 1920s. The number of global RILU supporters was estimated at just under 17 million, well over half of whom were members of Soviet trade unions, and 2.8 million in China. The "German Section" was considered to be the strongest of the RILU in Europe after the Soviet trade unions. France, Czechoslovakia, and Chile were still important.

26 countries had "revolutionary minorities" within the reformist unions.

The RILU was an achievement of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The RILU was an independent communist world trade union organization and was affiliated with the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. It integrated the revolutionary part of the international trade union movement sympathetic to the October Revolution and stood in opposition to the social democratic-influenced International Federation of Trade Unions (the yellow "Amsterdam Union" – the IFTU). Attempts were made to establish commonality among the major workers' organizations, but appeals to the IFTU for "unity" in the mid-1920s failed. The anti-communist doctrine of social democracy led to the formation of the Revolutionary Union Opposition (RGO) in the early 1930s.

In 1933, the unions were banned and crushed by the Nazis who came to power. This also affected the trade union movements affiliated with the RILU in Czechoslovakia, France, China, and Great Britain. Thanks to the support of the Soviet trade unions, the RILU was able to continue its unwavering struggle.

Beginning in 1934 and under the drawing of the Popular Front (7th World Congress, 1935), a common "anti-fascist struggle" was proclaimed. The influence of "left" social democracy and revisionism within the world communist movement increased rapidly, threatening the independent existence of all international communist organizations – until it finally dissolved the RILU (1937) and dissolved the Comintern (1943) itself. The dissolution was the greatest betrayal of the world

proletariat in the history of world communism. The revisionists justified their betrayal with using the method of "covert" infiltration of communism into bourgeois society, using infiltration tactics. This however turned out to not be a mere tactical infiltration, but served to camouflage the penetration of the revisionist line into the world communist movement, meant the liquidation of the communist organizations. And what of the propaganda of the bourgeoisie? Their propaganda took advantage of the revisionist betrayal. To this day, the collaboration between the bourgeoisie and the revisionists consists in presenting revisionism as "communist ideology" in order to brand the crimes of the revisionists as "communist crimes" and to "prove" the "betrayal" of the working class by communism.

(Bourgeois formula of anti-communism: "revisionism = communism"; Stalinism-Hoxhaism = "left radical, sectarian, dogmatic deviation" from communism).

The red unionists inside and outside the bourgeois trade union organizations were accused of "left terror", "factionalism", "radicalism", etc., and were fought against. The internal condemnation and fight against the RILU and, consequently, its liquidation by the revisionists was simultaneously joined by external factors:

The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) came into being under the conditions of the anti-Hitler coalition, as a result of the new conditions after the end of the Second World War. The first WFTU conference was held from the 6th to 17th of February, 1945, with the participation of 40 national trade unions and 15 international organizations which set the

eradication of fascism and struggle against imperialism as its main objective.

The imperialists tried to turn the WFTU into an anti-communist instrument and a split occurred in 1949. After the death of Comrade Stalin (1953), the Khrushchevite revisionists took decisive influence over the WFTU. This led to the revisionist degeneration of the union federations in the Soviet Union and the other countries dominated by the revisionists. The trade unions were in the hands of the imperialists and social-imperialists. To this day, it has not changed with the WFTU. It is an anti-Marxist-Leninist trade union that we are fighting.

The Albanian trade unions condemned the incorporation of the WFTU by the Soviet revisionists, separated from the WFTU and the Trade Unions of Albania (BPSH) became the vanguard branch of the revolutionary world trade union movement. The Trade Unions of Albania was supported by the Marxist-Leninist World Movement, anti-social-imperialist and anti-social-fascist forces and organizations throughout the world.

The truly revolutionary world trade union movement is based exclusively on the teachings of the Five Classics of Marxism-Leninism, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Enver Hoxha. Because the world proletariat alone, with the Comintern (SH) at its head, is the decisive force that will destroy the world bourgeoisie and its trade unions.

The experience of the revolutionary world trade union movement shows that it is only when it is led by a Marxist-Leninist vanguard organization that it is not infected and eaten away by reformism and revisionism.

Opportunist, reformist, revisionist, neo-revisionist, Maoist, Trotskyite, and anarcho-syndicalist influences in the world trade union movement serve to betray and divide the world proletariat and to prevent and undermine its aspirations for independent revolutionary trade unions. The struggle against these elements must therefore be pursued vigorously, uncompromisingly, and unabatedly and brought to an end. Without defeating these elements, we will not be able to build world proletarian class unions that will advance the struggle to smash the global capitalist system of exploitation, we will not be able to achieve the victory of world socialism, nor will be able to establish communist unions in world socialism.

The founding of the RILU was above all supported by the Comintern. From the beginning, the Comintern considered the winning over of the union masses for the World Revolution as one of its most important tasks. The Comintern worked its way into the world trade union movement through the RILU. The RILU was the most important and significant transmission belt of the Comintern.

If all that Lenin and Stalin taught about the RILU is true, and the indispensability of the RILU is unquestioningly obvious until today, why could the RILU be disbanded at all in 1937? In answering this question, we have always referred to Dimitrov's revisionist course, to the Seventh World Congress, with which the liquidation of the international organs of the struggle for world communism, including the dissolution of the RILU, began.

Is that reason enough? No. The world proletariat cannot be satisfied with that. The workers will rightly ask us communists: Why did you allow the dissolution in the first place? Why did you do nothing against it? Where you no longer really convinced of the necessity of the continued existence of the RILU yourselves? Why did you not fight for the continuation of the RILU?

We would not be communists if we conveniently blamed our own mistakes and weaknesses on opportunists. That would not only be self-deception, but also deception of the world proletariat, deception of the world revolution. The bourgeois-revisionist deceptions were used by the Khrushchevites when they blamed their own betrayal of communism on Beria or the "Anti-Party Group" of Molotov, Kaganovich, etc.

Revolutionary self-criticism differs from every other self-criticism in that one has the courage to self-critically question their previous views of the RILU in order to truly examine its correctness from the bottom up. It is not a question of whether the RILU is necessary or not. No true communist or revolutionary unionist doubts that. Instead, what is at stake is the question of how far the RILU could or could not actually fulfill its task. If we do not correctly answer those questions, how can we protect and preserve our RILU, re-established in 2003, from possible old mistakes and weaknesses?

The question that most arises for us is why an RILU was formed without building red unions in each country, as was the case of the Comintern with its sections. By deciding not to build national red unions, the RILU opposed the "left" trend, which was strong at the time, of calling on all unionists to leave the yellow unions and instead organize them into "squeaky clean"

revolutionary unions. This would have been perceived by the workers as an attack on "their" union. Of course, it was a correct decision on the part of the RILU, which is also in line with the Bolshevik mass line, to anchor itself in the masses wherever they are, i.e., in the yellow unions, and to not break away from them.

So far so good. But we further ask: Can this be an argument for renouncing the creation of our own communist trade union organizations? After all, we did not renounce the RILU in order to carry out communist opposition work in the Amsterdam International instead (without the RILU). The RILU, by the way, worked much more successfully illegally within the Amsterdam International than the Amsterdam International did in the Red International of Labour Unions, the RILU had more red union members in the Amsterdam International than vice versa.

The RILU undeniably did a very successful job on the international level. This was only denied by a certain Dimitrov, who by the way, was active in the RILU for a while before he took over the leadership of the Comintern.

Why couldn't the red unions have done the same successful work on the national level? If the RILU fought against the Amsterdam International at the international level, why couldn't the sections of the RILU have fought against the yellow unions on the national level?

If every trade unionist could either choose the RILU or the Amsterdam International, why not choose between the yellow and red unions on the national level?

In our opinion, one can do illegal work much more effectively within the yellow unions with the help of red unions than without them. This sounds logical and convincing.

Whoever refrains from founding red unions at the national level for whatever reason inevitably prepares the ground for opportunists to use their opportunist united front tactics, in which the RILU is only an obstacle that must be removed. And that is exactly what really happened in 1937. To prevent this, strong red unions at the national level would certainly have been more advantageous than none at all.

Furthermore: The question of red unions cannot be settled with the question of illegality and legality. After all, most sections of the Comintern also had to struggle under illegal conditions. Illegality is not a reason for the dissolution of communist organizations. On the contrary. It is in accordance with the basic principle of Bolshevik party building that the legal struggle must be combined with the illegal struggle. Even the founding of the Comintern could not be made dependent on illegal conditions. This Bolshevik principle of illegal party building applies to all communist organizations, to red unions. The only exceptions are the trade unions under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the activity of the RILU in Moscow, although its activity in the countries dominated by capitalism was, of course, only illegally possible.

Finally, the argument of "union busting". (We will come back to this in detail in Chapter 9).

Without the help of the trade unions, humanity will not reach world communism. So there is no reason for us communists to

want to break the unions as organizations of the workers. That for one thing.

One must ask which unions are meant. Which unions of which class are to be broken? Those that serve the interests of the working class or those that betray its interests? The bourgeois or the proletarian unions? Proletarian unions in power only exist through the smashing of the power of the bourgeois unions.

From 1921 until today, the issue has not been union busting per se, but the busting of the dominant bourgeois influence of the yellow unions in the world trade union movement.

Union busting is a question of class standpoint.

After all, is it not the bourgeoisie that created its yellow unions in order to be able to exploit and discipline the working class undisturbed?

Yellow unions keep workers in the chains of wage slavery. Does anyone want to doubt that the yellow unions fundamentally reject the breaking of the chains of wage slavery? Since when have the slaves ever been able to free themselves in a "peaceful manner"? This has not happened in history and cannot happen today or in the future. Whoever wants to break the chains of wage slavery cannot do it with the yellow unions, but only against the yellow unions.

If anything, the busting can only be against those trade union elements that are directed against the interests of the working class, including all those means with which the social-fascist trade union leaders practice against the workers. The argument that "the communists want to break the union" comes only from

the yellow union leaders, those agents of the bourgeoisie within the world trade union movement. This is part of their arsenal of anti-communism. They paint the spectre of communism on the wall, which the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels is introduced in the first sentence with.

Everything that stands in the way of the World Socialist Revolution will be swept away by it. It will certainly not give the yellow unions a wide arch.

It should be obvious to every communist that you cannot build world socialism with yellow unions. This can only be done with red unions. But should one wait with the building of red unions after the World Socialist Revolution has won? Of course not. They must be built before the World Socialist Revolution because without red unions the World Socialist Revolution cannot see. The victory of the October Revolution would have been completely impossible without red unions. We undoubtedly need red unions for the victory of the World Socialist Revolution in every country in the world, if possible, and rather yesterday than today.

But what happens to the yellow unions? As is well known, the yellow unions took the side of the counter-revolution in the October Revolution. On which side of the barricade should the yellow unions stand in the World Socialist Revolution – would they want to join the World Socialist Revolution or fight it? The answer should be clear. They would, of course, try everything to draw their union members to the side of the counter-revolution in order to fulfill their anti-communist mission of maintaining capitalism. The question must be "Who? - Whom?"

Either yellow or red unions. The World Socialist Revolution cannot pose this question any other way if it wants to win. Everything else is opportunist prattle.

Chapter III

The Re-foundation of the RILU

The RILU was founded under the dictatorship of the Russian proletariat led by Lenin and Stalin under the most favorable world revolutionary conditions created by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

On the other hand, the RILU was re-established in the most unfavorable conditions of the world revolutionary movement. There was no longer a dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, nor in Albania. We were no longer in the period of the upsurge of the world revolution, but in a phase of its decline, first brought about by the anti-communist collaboration of social democracy with modern revisionism and secondly by the betrayal of the neo-revisionists.

The re-establishment of the RILU in 2003 was about rebuilding and reorganizing the world revolutionary union movement that had been crushed by the revisionists.

We consider the RILU policy fundamentally correct, follow it, and rebuild the refounded RILU on its old foundations.

Basically, the Comintern (SH) did nothing else than declared the 1937 dissolution wrong and invalid and continued where the RILU ceased to exist.

It was clear to us from the beginning that we could not continue the RILU unmodified, that the old RILU policy could no longer cope with the current conditions of globalization.

The correctness of the re-establishment of the RILU was only justified by adapting its policies to the different objective conditions of the global class struggle in the world trade union movement.

After 100 years, the conditions for an RILU have changed just like the conditions of the World Revolution itself. And after 100 years it has not only been permissible, but absolutely necessary to fundamentally question the theory and practice of the RILU with the help of historical and dialectical materialism. And there we had to start all over again and go back to the founding history of the RILU and locate the relevant historical documents, study them, and draw lessons from them for the future. This exploration phase has not been completed yet. We continue to work on it.

The current organizational structure of the yellow unions is primarily adapted to the needs of the globalization of world capital. The world bourgeoisie prefers that organizational structure of its unions which can be used most effectively against the globalization of the class struggle of the world proletariat.

In this regard, the organizational structure of the old RILU lags behind – an important reason for us to think about its new organizational structures.

We need a union organizational structure that will most effectively serve the World Socialist Revolution today: globalized unification of all industrial unions for the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie in order to bring the means of the entire world capitalist production into state possession of the world proletariat.

We need a union organizational structure for the future, an organizational structure that helps the world proletariat take control of globalized world production in a socialist way. In world socialism, world production must be organized better than under capitalism, namely in such a way that in the process the needs of the world population can be satisfied much better than under capitalism. And for this we need the trade unions.

If we want to create new globalized forms of organization of industrial unions, what about building red unions on the national level? Should they be abandoned in favor of globalized forms of organization? The question is wrong. Instead, the question must be: Can we create new globalized forms of organization of the RILU with or without national red unions?

The question can be answered correctly only if we consider the role of national production in the system of globalized world production.

What we can already say with certainty now is that national production in world socialism will be closely integrated into a global system of socialist world production (globalized division

of labor). For this we also need a globalized system of socialist trade union organizations, in which the national trade unions will play just as indispensable a role as in globalized world capitalism.

As we know, Marxism teaches us that world socialist productive forces and the relations of production corresponding to them do not arise detached from the old world capitalist social order. They do not emerge after the disappearance of the old world order, but are already in the womb of the capitalist world society.

It is the same with the trade unions. We need the red unions on the national scale first to represent the interests of the workers against the capitalists there, secondly to mobilize the masses for the socialist revolution, thirdly for the abolition of the capitalist relations of production, for the socialization of the means of production, and finally for the building of socialism in every country in the world and its contribution to the common building of world socialism.

We need the red unions in every country of the world for building the RILU in the globalized industries. Without the red unions on the national level, we cannot build red unions on the international level. These are the conditions which we must orient our RILU policies today to.

For the future globalized organizational principle of the RILU, we must combine the horizontal structure with the vertical structure. What does that mean?

First of all, we must strengthen the globalized fighting force of the industrial proletariat in every single branch of industry from every country through support from the national red unions.

The task of the red unions is not limited to their own national framework, but is integrated into an international task, to supply the world army of the industrial proletariat with its own forces. Only then will we be able to set this world army in motion against world capitalism.

For this, we must secondly win over the entire industrial proletariat for joint, overarching action by all branches of industry in order to train the entire industrial proletariat of the world for the decisive battle.

For this purpose, we must first start with propaganda work in order to be able to do organizational work and finally action work at a matured time.

We must form international propaganda committees for each industry from a certain position.

What forms of organization are available to the RILU today?

- 1. Red unions in individual countries affiliated with the RILU but operate illegally.*
- 2. Union members or groups excluded from yellow unions.*
- 3. Revolutionary union oppositions within the yellow unions (communist factions).*
- 4. Left action committees (solidarity committees) in which different directions jointly support the just struggles of the unionists from outside against the strikebreaking of the reformist trade unions.*

5. Organizations of the unemployed and temporary workers.

These and other forms of organization of the RILU result from the current objective conditions of the class struggle, which is being waged inside and outside the workplace and the union and must be linked together. It is initially a rallying movement of all revolutionary unionists who, in one way or another, have come into conflict with the yellow unions.

At the moment, the RILU can only work legally under the most difficult conditions. Everything that is organized around the RILU in the individual countries is exposed to police terror and the social-fascist trade union leaders who work in the hands of the police.

Therefore, for the RILU, the foundation of international anti-fascist action committees, the foundation of self-defense organizations, anti-fascist agitation and propaganda in the factory and trade union is indispensable.

We cannot win the world proletariat over for the struggle against war and fascism if we give a wide arc to the factory and trade union.

For the RILU, the United Front of all enterprises and trade unions against capitalism, war, and fascism doesn't mean a United Front with, but a United Front against the world bourgeoisie, whereby the main instrument against capitalism, war, and fascism must always be the World Socialist Revolution.

An International United Front in the world trade union movement presupposes the United Front in all national trade union movements.

If the thousands of trade unions of the entire world today were not reformist but revolutionary, the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie would not be a matter of years and decades, but of weeks, days, hours.

With the disintegration of world imperialism, the yellow unions will also disintegrate. There will then be only one Trade Union International – the RILU.

We have no reason to be pessimistic. Our persistent and self-sacrificing communist work in the factory and the union will one day be rewarded with victory.

We conclude that all forms of the workers' movement that will develop in the course of the world revolution will in turn have a mobilizing effect on the revolutionization of the broad masses and lead them to victory.

With every strengthening of the trade union and workplace struggle of the world proletariat against world imperialism, we are moving closer to world communist society.

Stalinist-Hoxhaist Faction in the Bourgeois Unions

The Revolutionary Union Opposition (RGO)

The Historical Origin of the RGO in Germany

The revolutionary Union Opposition (RGO) was the communist union in the Weimar Republic.

When the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions (RILU) and the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) decided to fight against social-fascism and the anti-communism of social democracy, our systematic communist factional work in the (social-democratic) General German Trade Union Federation (ADGB) began in 1928.

On the 14th of March, 1929, the Central Committee of the KPD decided to register party members expelled from the unions. Michael Niederkirchner, who had been expelled from the DMV in June 1929, founded an aid organization for expelled members, which became the nucleus of the RGO. The members of the KPD who remained in the ADGB went over to principled opposition within the yellow unions. Our concern from then until today was to organize and strengthen our independent communist trade union movement in German, both inside and outside the social-fascist unions.

Since 1930, the RGO was propagated as a "red class union," and defection campaigns were launched on several occasions. Our maximum membership was given as 322,000 in 1932. More than half of the RGO members were unemployed from 1930 onward, the KPD carried out revolutionary opposition work in the ADGB and all its federations, with the perspective of creating independent red federations as precursor organizations of individual communist unions. The three largest red federations organized more than 1% of the workforce in the metal, mining, and construction sectors. The leadership of the RGO worked closely with the trade union department of the

Central Committee of the KPD, with the RILU, and the Comintern.

In 1932, the RGO went on strike in the Berlin transport companies against the ordered wage cuts. The reactionary ADGB refused to support the BVG workers, fighting their strike as a "wildcat strike" and acting as a strikebreaker on behalf of the capitalists. After the Nazis came to power in 1933, the Nazis not only smashed the ADGB, but also the RGO.

35 Years Later:

With the founding of the KPD/ML on the 31st of December, 1968, the reconstruction of the RGO was also prepared.

The refoundation of the RGO took place 10 years later, on the 25th/26th of November, 1978. Since then, the RGO has existed to this day.

However, after the Trotskyite of Koch in the KPD/ML attempted to liquidate the KPD/ML in the early 1980s by uniting with the Trotskyite GIM [1985], it also attempted to liquidate the RGO, which had already been contaminated by anti-communist labor aristocrats in the leadership. The Marxist-Leninists in the KPD/ML – under the leadership of Comrade Wolfgang Eggers – led a determined and principled struggle for the continued existence of the RGO of Comrades Ernst Thälmann and Ernst Aust, especially since 1985. They have successfully prevented the liquidation of the RGO to this day, and not only in the face of the former Trotskyite Koch leadership. Even today, the RGO is attacked from all sides and is condemned as "sectarian", both by the DGB and by all of its "left-wing" lackeys in Germany and all over the world. Despite everything!

The RGO lives on! And we will continue to keep it alive, as we have done for 40 years.

We defend the RGO against all opposition from the triple alliance of capital -state - DGB, including its "left-wing".

Our RGO was not founded by Ernst Thälmann and then refounded by Ernst Aust for nothing.

Forever will we remain true to the historical legacy of the RGO.

"What does the RGO want?"

As a proletarian class organization, the RGO is in solidarity with all struggles aimed at the overthrow of capitalism through socialist revolution and the establishment of socialism, the only way to liberate the working class from exploitation and oppression.

The RGO wants to lead the class struggle against the capitalists, against the constant aggravation of exploitation, against inflation and real wage cuts, against mass layoffs and unemployment, for more wages, for the uncompromising defense of our jobs, for the improvement of the living and fighting conditions of the proletariat and finally for the elimination of the exploitative capitalist system through socialist revolution, for socialism.

The RGO wants the relentless struggle against the treason of the workers, against the reactionary DGB apparatus. It fights against all those who, under the guise of representing the interests of the workers, but in reality makes policies on the

backs of the workers in the interests of the capitalists. The RGO fights against those who divide the workers' movement in the interests and behalf of the capitalists. It fights for the unity of the working class on the basis of irreconcilable revolutionary struggle against its exploiters and oppressors. This is – in short - what the RGO wants.

The German Trade Confederation Union (DGB), on the other hand is an instrument in the hands of monopoly capital to ward off the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat.

The DGB supports all repressive measures of German imperialism without exception.

The DGB apparatus itself resorts to fascist methods to kick Stalinist-Hoxhaist and revolutionary workers out of the unions with so-called incompatibility resolutions.

The DGB encourages any law passed by Parliament that advances fascicisation and intensifies political repression.

The DGB bigwigs defend the capitalist order and cover up fascicisation. They are swindlers, social-fascists who must be relentlessly fought against. The DGB is in the service of state monopolism.

Despite all the demagogic tones that the DGB strike on many occasions, the reactionary DGB apparatus is and remains a tool of the bourgeoisie and its state. It uses its influence on the working class to suppress the workers' struggles or, where this is not possible, to sabotage, stifle and steer these struggles into channels that are not dangerous to the bourgeoisie. The DGB apparatus still has great influence. Despite the countless acts of

betrayal it has carried out against the working class in the interests of the bourgeoisie, there is not yet sufficient clarity within the working class about its completely reactionary character. Many colleagues still have certain illusions about the DGB apparatus and still hope to bring the apparatus to the class positions of the proletariat. These harmful illusions are above all nourished by the fraudulent propaganda of the modern revisionists. A part of the working class still harbors illusions about the character of the capitalist system and believes the propaganda of the DGB leaders, the social-democratic and revisionist deceivers, that capitalism can secure a tolerable existence for the workers.

What role does the RILU play under the conditions of globalization and what are the resulting tasks?

Closer to the globally organized industrial workers of the world!!!

We must build connections with the workers and among the workers in the large international corporations. That is where the most progressive workers are. And we must win these workers over to the RILU, preferably by developing our activities there. Without winning over the most advanced elements of the industrial workers of the world, the Comintern (SH) and its affiliated RILU will never achieve their goals and will sooner or later inevitably fail.

The sections of the RILU are first and foremost representatives of the RILU in their countries. What does this mean? It means that the role of the sections in their countries is secondary. The

role of the sections is to unite the red unionists of their country with the aim of transforming them into a section of the RILU that marches in step with the RILU.

Sections are not allowed to turn this principle of proletarian internationalism upside down and fall back on nationalist secession from the RILU. There is no organizationally national road to the World Socialist Revolution and no organizationally national road to socialism. This is the typical path of the revisionists, who all from their diverse national "communist" parties as the basis for their international cooperation, for the sole purpose of splitting the world proletariat and hindering the further development of the Communist International and its sections. They are all our enemies of the World Socialist Revolution and any form of deviation from centralism on the Trade Union Question is absolutely unacceptable.

In contrast, it is the main task of the sections of the RILU to educate the proletarians of their country in the solidarity spirit of proletarian internationalism, helping them to completely overcome and discard their nationalist consciousness on the Trade Union Question, stimulated by the bourgeoisie and its petty bourgeois lackeys. In the RILU, the spirit of solidarity of collectivism prevails among the red unions of all countries, and not bourgeois or petty bourgeois competitive thinking.

Our sections of the RILU are structured according to the national-territory principle. This concerns the form but not the content. This form of organization is not sufficient in terms of content under the changed conditions of globalization of the revolutionary trade union movement.

So what is missing to fulfill the tasks of the sections of the RILU to meet this challenge? What is the most urgent task of the sections of the RILU? The most urgent task of the sections of the RILU is to make the proletarians of their country a fighting union section of the globalized class of the world proletariat. It is a question of the sections of the RILU actively participating in the globalized networking of the red unions of their country, which the world proletariat cannot develop a globalized, centralized trade union force without it and is doomed to defeat in the face of the internationally networked bourgeois unions. The task of a section of the RILU is not to limit the trade union struggle to its own country, but to internationally integrate it.

The sections of the RILU are an organizational part of the RILU and must therefore give priority to their internationalist contribution to the globalized network of the red unions of their own countries.

This serves to implement the old slogan "Workers of the world – unite!" - under the different conditions of globalization.

This is the prerequisite for the world proletariat as a globalized class to lead all countries to World Socialist Revolution: "World proletariat – unite all countries!"

This is the dialectic of the globalized trade union struggle which the organizational relationship between the RILU and its sections is built on. This is the union organizing principle of proletarian internationalism.

It is necessary for the RILU to create a global network of the revolutionary trade union struggle of industrial workers in order

to organize and unify its worldwide activities. This is only possible through the support of the sections of the RILU.

Each industrial branch of a country must become an integral part of the world industrial branch. This way, all industrial workers of the world must be united in order to develop the highest potency of world proletarian force in the various branches of production, which is necessary to wage a globally organized struggle against the globalized industrial capitalists.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that the globalized union power of the world proletariat can be brought to bear only through new globalized forms of organization – continental sections of the RILU as collective propagandists, agitators and organizers of the sections of the RILU united in the continental sections.

The RILU is a world organization of the world proletariat under the conditions of globalization. What does that mean?

The RILU in the period of globalization must be structured differently than the RILU in the age of the old Comintern (in the period before globalization).

The fundamental contradiction between wage labor and capital is a global contradiction that can only be globally resolved. The globalized construction of the RILU must be the decisive union lever for the solution of the fundamentally global contradiction between wage labor and capital.

The construction of the RILU is not structured along geographical (national) lines, but according to where the proletarians are organized within the globalized mode of

production in capitalism, that is, essentially in the multinational corporations, in the centers of world production.

The organizing of the industrial proletariat in the multinational corporations into the RILU is the decisive organizational path to organizing the world proletariat for World Socialist Revolution. The structure of the RILU depends on the way the world proletariat is actually organized under the globalized relations of production and not vice versa.

We must unionize workers where they work, in global industries – across national borders. For this future globalized organization principle, we must dialectically connect the globalized horizontal structure of the RILU with the vertical structure of the RILU's sections in each country. What does this mean?

First of all, we must strengthen the globalized fighting force of the industrial proletariat in every single factory with the support of the sections of the RILU in every country. The task of a section of the RILU is not limited to its own national framework, but is integrated into an international task, the trade union organization of its own national forces into the world army of the industrial proletariat. Only through this vertical recruitment will we be able to set this world army in motion horizontally and frontally against world capitalism.

Secondly, we need the vertical organization of the RILU to unite the entire industrial proletariat for joint, overarching global union action of all industries to equip the entire industrial proletariat of the world for the decisive battle. The global organization of industrial workers to overthrow world capitalism is the horizontal organizational structure of the RILU – the

globalized organizational structure and not the vertical structure. The vertical structure is subordinated to the horizontal structure.

The role of the sections of the RILU under the conditions of globalization is essentially different from the role of the sections of the RILU from the time of the Comintern in that they become vertical levers of the horizontal party building of the RILU, which is the main structure of building the RILU under the conditions of globalization. The horizontal organization of the world proletariat is also the decisive form of the future organization of world socialist production, which the RILU places a central role in.

The most advanced proletarians, in the automotive industry for example, must be linked in globalized revolutionary union organizations. Why? Every international branch of globalized production must be enabled to carry out globalized union action, with the help of the local (national) sections of the RILU, which are subordinated to the centralized leadership of the RILU.

Of course, this goal cannot be practically implemented at the moment, but we must systematically work toward this organizational goal. We must align ourselves with this goal and begin the preliminary work necessary to achieve it. The understanding of this perspective should be the cornerstone and foundation for all of our revolutionary work of the RILU and its sections in individual countries. As a revolutionary organization of the proletariat, the admission of new proletarian members from multinational companies must be a priority in all phases of the RILU's construction, including our present initial phase (at least in its germinal form).

Without revolutionary union members from multinational companies, there is no RILU. Therefore, we must focus more and more on how to unionize the industrial proletariat in the multinational companies as a common task of all sections of the RILU. Therefore, it is important that the sections of the RILU are seriously aware of the importance of their contribution to the solution of this global task of the RILU to horizontally organize the world proletariat in global production units.

Chapter IV

The so-called "Trade Union Question" – One of the Biggest Obstacles in the Path to the Revolutionary Unity of the World Proletariat

The so-called "trade union question", which has been discussed for over 100 years in the "left-wing" union movement, has had and continues to have nothing other than the questioning of the red unions as its goal. We Stalinist-Hoxhaists never question the necessity of proletarian class unions as transmission belts for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is why they are always trying to force the discussion of the "trade union question" on us in order to prevent us from building the RILU, to sow doubts about our revolutionary union policies, to create confusion in the "left" spectrum of the world trade union movement, to isolate us from the world trade union movement, to portray us as "sectarians" and "splitters" in the eyes of the working class.

Knowing full well that everything is being done and will continue to be done to put obstacles in the way of the RILU, we cannot and must not avoid the discussion about the

revolutionary unions. It is not that we do not want to give our opponents to portray us as cowards who are avoiding the "discussion", but rather to get rid of the revolutionary unionists, individual progressive forces from the "union left" and then to convince the most progressive forces in the working class that there is an unbridgeable, irreconcilable, antagonistic contradiction between the RILU and its opponents which can only be resolved by exposing, unmasking, fighting, and finally liquidating the opportunist elements within the revolutionary world trade union movement.

Which forces contributed to the victory of Menshevism over Bolshevism in the "Trade Union Question"? They were above all the forces of reconciliationism, which prepared the way for cooperation between the "left-wing" in the reformist unions and the "right-wing" in the RILU. Reconciliation (through softening the Bolshevik principles of united front tactics) poses the greatest danger of deviation from revolutionary union policies and must be eliminated before it is too late.

Once opportunism has penetrated the revolutionary ranks, it is all the more difficult to get rid of it again, the liquidation of the RILU would only be a matter of time.

It was precisely the betrayal of the revolutionary struggle against opportunism inside and outside the RILU that had led to the liquidation of the RILU in 1937. On the "Trade Union Question", Menshevism had triumphed over Bolshevism in 1937. Every attempt to re-establish the RILU on Bolshevik foundations had been derailed by Mensheviks within the revolutionary world trade union movement until 2003. The very question of whether to launch a revolutionary union opposition, after some initial successes, ended in defeat, both under the

leadership of Comrade Ernst Thälmann and Comrade Ernst Aust in Germany in particular, and under the leadership of the Hoxhaist World Hoxhaist Trade Union Movement in general. After the death of Ernst Aust, the RGO also died in Germany. And after the death of Enver Hoxha that same year, the Hoxhaist world trade union movement also died. These historical facts cannot be denied and did not come into being purely by chance, but were and are the result of a life and death struggle to solve the "Trade Union Question".

We have only put an end to the confusion of the opportunists regarding the "Trade Union Question" in full accomplishment since 2003 and have unwaveringly rebuilt the RILU. The caravan of the red unions has started to move again, past the barking dogs of the "union left" along the roadside!

It should not have escaped the notice of the trade unions of the leading capitalist countries that world capital is increasingly influencing the traditional development of the trade union movement in those countries, to the extent that it can ruthlessly disregard the achievements of these 150+ year old workers' movements because no trade union in a single country will do anything to defend workers' rights, nor could it even if it wanted to, which has not been the case for over 100 years when the trade unions were already transformed from instruments of the workers into instruments of the capitalist system, as instruments against the workers. But who is the pioneer of the international attack on the achievements of the workers of the individual countries? The pioneers of the globalized campaign against the workers' rights and the social systems, which once arose from the workers' movement of the individual capitalist countries!

The governments, the trade unions, all of the old instruments of exploitation and oppression in the individual countries come into conflict with the interests of world capital, which does not need to take any consideration towards world labor. While the capitalists in the individual countries are bound to certain, albeit minimal considerations under labor laws contrary to the capitalist system, the world capitalist is all the less so. They are not bound to anything, can make use of the reserve armies of all countries and get rid of them. But since the world capitalist does not exploit their labor force on the moon, but in the middle of the countries where the wage workers of the national capitalists are also exploited, the international capitalist "poaches", so to speak, in the foreign territories of the national capitalists, they put them in competition with each other, they put them under pressure and take the lead. If one compares the working conditions in factories of international monopolies anywhere in the world with those in factories with locally "settled" ownership, the working conditions are much worse, the wages lower among the world capitalists, the "down-to-earth" enterprises are forced in their turn to worsen their working conditions and to depress wages in order to remain internationally competitive. This cannot always be elegantly solved under the legal conditions of the individual states, there are frictional losses and distortions of competition. Hurdles such as tariff autonomy (even if it only exists formally on paper and is factually levered more and more!!) and other hurdles of the capitalist country system, have simply been jumped over by the world capitalist. The outsourcing of entire factories and entire industries to low-wage countries (and the return of the factories to old locations, but under worsened working and wage conditions!) - all these are well-known phenomena. In short: world capital overrides the hurdles in the individual countries, becomes the pacemaker of the leveraging out of the over 100

year old workers' movements in the capitalist countries. The world bourgeoisie does what the national bourgeoisie could not do in a hundred years in the blink of an eye. This is painfully felt, especially by the working class of those countries which had waged a particularly hard class struggle to wrest this and that improvement of their situation from the capitalists, from the capitalist state, and accordingly their resistance is greater than in other countries. The only problem is that the world capitalist has little understanding for this and makes any worker who rebels unemployed because they can draw from an army of millions in reserve and capital is now agile enough to get a better location at any time, where profits can be made more smoothly, faster and higher, where the resistance of the workers is felt the least. The automotive industry goes to the East to China because there the conditions of exploitation and the multiplication of capital is the greatest. The cheapest low-wage country in the world today is social-imperialist China. The fourth largest financial capital in the world is already in its hands, to give just one example. And conversely, the Deutsche Bank, the bank of Germany and the world's export master, has sunk from 4th to 23rd place among all the banks of the world and that was only within a few years. International banking capital is getting out of control.

The old instruments of struggle and forms of struggle, the old traditions still dominate the working class, hindering its realization that under the current conditions, they are increasingly losing their effectiveness in the face of the new instruments of struggle and forms of struggle of the world capitalist. The struggle of the two worldviews not only continues between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, but also between the workers who want to free themselves from the fetters of the traditions that have become ineffective and the workers who still

let themselves be dominated by these old (the ineffective are meant here, not the proven) traditions. And this is no less true of Marxist-Leninists, some of whom have freed themselves from the inhibitions of outdated guiding principles and views while others are still caught in them and cling to them. The struggle against an overpowering world is inevitably also a struggle among innovators, both workers and communists. The worldwide mass movements of the workers as well as the international movements of the communists are still confused today in two respects: firstly because all international mass thinking still moves in contradictions, ambiguities, and confusion; secondly because of the harmful role the revisionists play in it. The struggle against the revisionists within our own ranks is as fierce as the struggle outside in the capitalist world. There is no unity to preach where unity is not possible. It takes great strength and a long time to overcome the international confusion with a qualitative step towards international unity. This applies no differently to the international workers' movement than to the Marxist-Leninist World Movement and above all to its two necessary mergers.

Well they are, for example, national forms of struggle of the workers which are opposed to the international forms of struggle of capital, which are naturally superior to the national forms of struggle. If the workers of a car factory fight to keep their jobs, the factory is moved overseas, where wages are lower and less resistance can be expected from the workers. A "second class" labor market is created as competition (temporary worker system). Or workers are brought in from abroad in order to dump wages, which not only depresses the wages of domestic workers, but also throws them out on the street. The world capitalist has more modern weapons, while the working the working class has obsolete weapons to fight each other with – an

unequal struggle. One can fight as heroically as they like, but with outdated weapons, defeat is inevitable. And indeed, everyone can see with their own eyes that the workers in their countries are quite helpless and powerless in the face of this development, that they are becoming more and more aware that they are being acted up against, that the capitalists are more and more insolently showing off and that the positions of the workers are becoming more and more difficult from country to country. The weapon that helps here is the weapon of the international union of workers. What do the national unions say about this? The union bosses not only look the other way and shrug their shoulders, but they do everything they can to let the workers' indignation go nowhere, do nothing against the governments that legally allow for this competition with foreign workers. It is a historical fact that the trade unions in capitalist countries have have raped the international character of the workers' movement for more than a hundred years, that the capitalists have bred a strong labor aristocracy in order to drive proletarian internationalism out of the minds of the workers with bourgeois nationalism, social-imperialism, social-fascism, etc., to split the international front of the revolutionary workers' movement, to undermine or brutally prevent the world revolutionary unification process. Today, the workers throughout the world feel at first hand what this has led to – they stand isolated and powerless in every country, abandoned by the union lackeys of world imperialism! Meanwhile, the states of the world with their yellow unions are almost completely in the hands of the monopolies, the international companies, world capital. Yes, even the membership in a yellow union alone is for them a reason of the refusal of an application or a reason for dismissal. Under the dictates of world capital, the governments cower; the states cower; the yellow unions cower, they have been transformed into auxiliary instruments of world

capital, the workers' rights, the union rights, the rights of the peoples, human rights are undermined, they are more and more ruthlessly disregarded, the people concerned react with helplessness and anger towards the rising world fascism, the workers of the world are treated the same way the colonialists once treated the Asian coolies. It is no accident that the Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists) founded the Red International of Labour Unions, not only to help the proletarians rebuild a class union guided exclusively by proletarian internationalism in their countries, but to centralize the entire international revolutionary trade union movement on the world revolutionary path. The RILU was founded with the wise foresight that the trade union movement against world capital would bring forth new international forms of struggle to better, centrally and unitedly, represent and enforce the union interests of the world proletariat. With the internationalization of the union struggle, the world proletariat pursues a double purpose: to contain the competition of the workers among the different countries by uniting them into a world competition and by coming to the world negotiation table as a total negotiator, not only with the colleagues of this or that country behind it, but with the will of the colleagues of the entire world behind it to fight!!! If at the beginning it is only about stopping the free fall of the global wages, the world proletariat will extend its unionized centralization to all other demands towards the world capitalists, improvement of working conditions, etc. The maintenance of the World Trade Union Front itself becomes more necessary than that of world wages. In this union struggle at the highest level, both on the side of capital and on the side of the workers, all the elements for the coming world battle finally unite and develop. Once it has reached this point, the revolutionary trade union International will be able to fulfill its political tasks, to help finally abolish ruinous competition

among the workers on a global scale forever and to put in its place the world association of the socialist trade union.

Without the international unification of the revolutionary trade union movement, the international workers' movement is powerless, it stands on clay, it lacks a base, it cannot develop without a base. The Red International of Labour Unions is an association which encompasses the world proletariat in its entirety, but is far from being able to directly realize the world dictatorship of the proletariat. This requires differentiated international unions, an enormous world organization mechanism (international transformation belt) which is only set in motion by a series of cogwheels. The world dictatorship of the proletariat can only be realized through its vanguard, the world proletarian party which is closely interlocked with the RILU. Without this mechanism between the highest class organization of the world proletariat and all its other class organizations, such as the RILU, the path from world imperialism to world socialism cannot be accomplished.

What is the dialectical relationship between national and international trade movements, especially in the struggle against globalized wage slavery?

The yellow unions are instruments of imperialism to suppress and divide the revolutionary proletariat. World capital needs global wage slavery as well as the global form of the yellow union that suits it as a future bulwark against the world proletarian struggle, whose goal is the abolition of world wage slavery. World capital cannot simply "take over" the yellow unions as they have developed to date in the individual countries, but it cannot smash them either. World capital cannot do this for the simple reason that they must continue to be

maintained as regulatory systems of the system of exploitation and oppression of the national bourgeoisie, as departments of the world bourgeoisie. The yellow unions in every country must be completely transformed and globalized so that they can also serve its world interests. By acting as departments of the new yellow world union of globalized world capital – and world capital is forcing them to do so – each yellow union in one country is no longer waging its anti-worker struggle maintain wage slavery, but is forced to subordinate its own national interests to the overall yellow union interests of world capital, the yellow union instruments of all countries must be transformed into a single, centralized instrument of world capital in order to make world labor disposable and available, which in turn means: their hitherto reactionary national guild system, which has immensely inhibited the labor movement of every country in its revolutionary development, must fall. This is good, not bad! In this respect, it is no longer a question of an Amsterdam International (against the revolutionary class trade union movement in the individual countries). It is also no longer so much of a loose trade union umbrella organization, where the individual yellow unions represented their own (social-imperialist interests, only supported each other so to speak, and/or fought for their (social-imperialist) hegemony there, but for a globalized world capitalism, a new trade union form which all of world labor can be kept in check with by acting into the national unions, transforming them and centrally directing them to the international division of the world proletariat. This is good for the revolutionary world trade union movement insofar – and only insofar – as world capital grinds down the national barriers of the yellow trade union movement through the global shaping of world labor, providing better starting conditions for the international unfolding of the unification of the revolutionary world trade union movement – not only for the

world proletariat as a whole, but also for the revolutionary trade union movement in every country of the world. This will facilitate and accelerate the winning over of union members to the ideas of communism all over the world and in all countries.

If the globalized union interests of world capital exert increased external influence on the yellow unions of each country, if world capital determines the union instruments (and their use) of each country, the workers in their own country cannot (permanently) build or defend their revolutionary class unions on their own because they now face a supremacy of the world social-imperialist yellow union center in their country. The revolutionary trade union movement cannot fully develop if the red unionists do not detach their organization from its national soil, if the (internal) revolutionary union of each country is not united (qualitatively transformed) by the world proletariat into each (external) section belonging to the RILU (of the world proletariat) in order to be able to smash the international yellow union apparatus on a global scale (and this, and only this, is the only guarantee of victory over its own yellow unions in each country under the modern conditions of globalization!!). World capital, so to speak, transforms the (national) internal yellow unions into an instrument of the external capitalist world yellow union, awakens it from its national slumber, strengthens it with simultaneous aggravation of the contradictions and competition between national labor and world labor. Only by creating the globalized world yellow union does world capital lift the globalized revolutionary world trade union onto the world stage, can the yellow union disappear with capitalism forever, not only from the world stage but also from the historical stage of every country, can the revolutionary world trade union movement fully develop in every country of the world. The world proletariat cannot unite the countries unless it unites its revolutionary trade

unions (and unites against the yellow unions!!): "World proletariat – unite all revolutionary trade unions of all countries!" This is the world revolutionary concept for solving the trade union crisis: the capitalist union can certainly be defeated in its own country by its own strength (though at a much greater sacrifice) – precisely because of its connection with world capital), but never can the victory of a revolutionary union over the reactionary union in one country be guaranteed as long as the reactionary union of that country can draw sufficient new forces of restoration from world capital. Therefore, we must fight against all trade union concepts, especially against the concepts of world economism, which attack our concept of the RILU and our concepts of a world revolutionary trade union struggle because by doing so they do not help but harm the revolutionary union movement in our own country, they do not harm the yellow union but help it (world revolutionary trade union struggle in words – world yellow trade union struggle in deeds). The guarantee against yellow trade unions, for the elimination of the inevitability of the counter-revolutionary trade union movement in the imperialist world order, only creates the international, world revolutionary trade union struggle, the Red International of Labour Unions, only the union war for the elimination of the yellow union, the anti-imperialist union war of the world proletariat only insofar as it serves the conquest for its world power. There is no task more important today for the class-conscious workers than that of grasping the world revolutionary significance of the INTERNATIONAL trade union movement, and of knowing it very well and memorizing it firmly. The creation of the Red Trade Union in each country does not proceed in a straight line, not regularly, and not detached from the international development of the trade union movement. It is forced by world capital to develop through the "detour" of the international

union struggle of the world proletariat in every country, and thus in its own country, which depends not least on the conditions in each country. The Red Trade Union in each country has to overcome great obstacles, which it can only overcome together with the proletarians of all countries, only as a section of the world proletariat. World capital prevents the Red Trade Union – supported by the world revolutionary trade union movement from developing in every country – but unlike a department of the international revolutionary union of the world proletariat, the Red Trade Union Movement of one country cannot beat the yellow union because the latter is now internationally involved in the business of world capital and has the backing of the national bourgeoisie.

Of course, this does not mean that the red unionists in each country should sit back and "wait out" this international development. They must organize the revolutionary work of the union opposition both inside and outside the yellow unions, and for this purpose form suitable transitional forms towards the creation of an independent red union. These transitional forms will be different in every country since the yellow unions are not the same in different countries. The unification of the revolutionary unionists in one country is among the toughest, most grueling, complicated and difficult, but also the most important and necessary tasks of the world revolutionaries because large sections of the proletarians, especially the industrial workers, are still imprisoned in the yellow unions are exposed daily to the reactionary influence of the labor aristocracy and the "theories" of the union intelligentsia. The yellow union has only been able to hold on the workers' movement for so long because the workers are still hesitant to replace it with their own revolutionary union, because the yellow union is undermining the revolutionary class consciousness

necessary for this daily and hourly, filling the union brains with bourgeois ideology daily and hourly. The bourgeois union is still idolized as a "sacred cow" that must not be slaughtered because everything could get "much worse" otherwise. This superstition will only be broken, this myth will only be overcome when the workers have completely understood on the basis of their own experiences that a class union with the bourgeoisie can never represent the interests of the working class, but that only their own union, the proletarian class union can do this. This will then be the beginning of the historical end of the yellow union, then after more than a hundred years the old revolutionary union, its tradition of class struggle, will finally see the light of day again, the 100 years of division of the trade union movement by the bourgeoisie will be eliminated, there will once again be free united unions, serving no one else but the workers themselves. This is a hard struggle, which is inevitable because it will be imposed on the divided working class to restore its united union, its trade union unity.

But let us look at the communists. The weakness of the communists is nowhere more evident than in the "Trade Union Question". It makes one's hair stand on end when they hear quotes from Lenin, even from old seasoned communists, about the attitude of communists in the trade unions 100 years ago, when it was still a matter of fighting the infantile diseases of communism. Today, we are seriously asking ourselves whether we should not write a book about the old diseases of communism on the "Trade Union Question" so that it is finally understood by everyone that we cannot solve the union question with the answers that were correct 100 years ago, but today, no longer correspond to the changed conditions of globalization at all. It is a shame that the overwhelming majority of communists today have gravely sinned against the workers on the trade union

question, that they have been crushed under the burden or reformism and revisionism that had accumulated for 100 years in the trade union movement because they failed to shake this burden off in time and adopt a revolutionary attitude. Another mistake is that this very trade union question is quite clear on how great the petty bourgeois influence still is on within its ranks, which has made no small contribution to the wrong attitude on the "Trade Union Question". The "Trade Union Question" is the question which still divides communists the most – precisely because reformism and revisionism are most deeply rooted there and have unfortunately contributed much more to the strengthening of anarcho-syndicalism and far too little to the world revolutionary trade union struggle. If the "Trade Union Question" has paralyzed the unity of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement, then the "Trade Union Question" must be tackled and brought to a Stalinist-Hoxhaist conclusion. When this bludgeon between the gears is removed, unification will achieve the desired progress in both the union struggle and the communist struggle. So let's unite in the struggle for the revolutionary union – and what else?!

Chapter V

Class Analysis – The Foundation of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist Trade Union Policy of the Comintern (SH)

The World Proletariat

By "world proletariat", we understand the (globalized working class emerging from the proletarians of all countries, which has grown worldwide through the global mode of production and, as

a the main revolutionary force, confronts the ruling world bourgeoisie, is exploited the most by it and will overthrow and destroy it.

In the time of Marx and Engels, the world proletariat only included the proletarians of Europe and North America. With globalization, the proletariat of the 21st century is represented as a revolutionary class in all countries of the world, the main contradiction everywhere exists between wage labor and capital, between bourgeoisie and proletariat. Today, world capitalism prevails in every country of the world. Today, capitalist class society prevails in every country in the world. The basic condition is fulfilled for the perfect development of the world proletariat into a global class. The structure of the RILU is oriented accordingly, namely to global centralism – and no longer as an umbrella organization of independent national trade unions, as in the time of the Comintern. The globalization of the trade union organizations of the world proletariat must be adapted to the level of the globalization of world capital in order to be able to wage the union struggle against world capital on an international scale:

World proletariat against world bourgeoisie/class against class on a global scale!

Of all the classes confronting the world bourgeoisie today, only the world proletariat is a truly revolutionary class, with the industrial proletariat forming the revolutionary core. With its own liberation, the world proletariat also liberates all other people from exploitation and oppression.

Since the world proletariat has no private property in the means of production, it is not interested in maintaining it. Moreover,

since private ownership of the means of production is the basis for the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists, its elimination and its replacement by social ownership is the only way to liberate the world proletariat. The world proletariat is not only the only revolutionary class in the world, but also the numerically strongest class and the most rapidly growing class in the world capitalist society. Globalized work in the multinational companies welds the international industrial proletariat together most firmly and the workers develop a class consciousness that is most receptive to proletarian internationalism. It is here that the revolutionary qualities of the world proletariat develop best – collective spiritual readiness for tight discipline, for unanimous actions, for mutual support and help. All this enables the industrial proletariat to lead the class struggle against the world bourgeoisie most consistently. That is why the RILU must concentrate on winning over the international industrial proletariat so that it can take the leading role in the revolutionary world trade union movement.

The world proletariat includes the industrial proletariat, the non-industrial proletariat and the lowest employees. The industrial proletariat includes the workers of the multinational corporations of big industry.

The non-industrial proletariat includes workers in craft businesses, agriculture, trade and transport, IT companies, the service sector, etc.

The lowest employees must also be counted among the proletariat. Their living and working conditions are becoming more and more like those of the workers. The small privileges once granted to them by the capitalists have been reduced to a

minimum. They are among those who fill up the army of the unemployed.

"The difference in this matter between the proletariat and the other classes which at any time in the course of history revolutionized the relations of production consists in the fact that the class relations of production consists in the fact that the class interests of the proletariat merge with the interests of the overwhelming majority of society, because proletarian revolution implies the abolition not of one or the other form of exploitation, but of all exploitation, while the revolutions of other classes, which abolished only one or the other form of exploitation, were confined within the limits of their narrow class interests, which conflicted with the interests of the majority of society." (Stalin: 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.'; Moscow; 1952; p.56; English Edition).

To thwart the division of labor, class-conscious workers must understand their task as leaders of the masses of exploited and oppressed. They must allow themselves to be gagged by the reactionary trade union statutes, nor evade the struggle against social-fascism within the unions. They must make every effort to include precisely the most exploited strata in the front of the proletarian class struggle. Against the corrupt labor aristocracy and bureaucracy, we appeal precisely to the lowest strata of the proletariat that suffer most from capitalist exploitation, to women workers, young workers, the unemployed, etc. The communists are waging a tenacious struggle for every position in the trade unions in order to use them in the interests of the working masses against the social-fascist bureaucracy.

The Semi-Proletariat

The semi-proletariat comprises the working people who are in practically the same living situation as the proletariat and only differ from the mass of the proletariat in a few, relatively minor advantages. They include part-time farmers who have to sell their labor to the capitalists during the day and cultivate their small farms after work. They still own the means of production on a small scale, but the basis of their existence is wage labor. The part-time and supplementary farmers form the largest part of the rural population. The semi-proletariat also includes formerly self-employed craftsmen who are now in wage employment, but who still perform self-employed work on the side. The semi-proletariat also includes the lowest class of civil servants, who perform physical labor and do not significantly differ from the proletariat in terms of earnings or working and living conditions. The privileges associated with civil servant status, especially permanency, distinguish them from wage workers. The semi-proletariat includes small employees whose living conditions are somewhat better than the average living conditions of the working class or who, by virtue of other privileges, stand out from the mass of the lowest employees who count as members of the proletariat. The objective interests of the semi-proletariat in fact coincide with those of the proletariat even though it is as a rule more influenced by petty bourgeois thinking than the proletariat. The semi-proletariat will fight alongside the proletariat in the World Socialist Revolution.

The Lumpenproletariat

The lumpenproletariat is recruited from the most degenerate elements of the classes and strata of society. They are the little parasites on the body of the working classes. This rabble is absolutely purchasable and is often pressed into service as strikebreakers, provocateurs, agents, etc., by the bourgeoisie.

There is nothing in common between the lumpenproletariat and the class-conscious proletariat.

The Labor Aristocracy

The emergence of the main opportunist currents, both old and modern revisionism and the neo-revisionism of today was conditioned by the fact that in the imperialist states, the bourgeoisie had the opportunity to bribe a privileged stratum of the bourgeoisie with small portions of the surplus profits acquired through the colonial and neo-colonial plunder of the oppressed peoples and nations: the labor aristocracy. Bribing individual representatives and groups of the proletariat is a method used by the imperialists to divide the workers' movement. The forms of this bribery were and are different. Raising the wages of the privileged strata of the working class, giving lucrative state positions, supervisory board posts, etc., to the purchased leaders of the workers' movement, directly subsidizing reformist and revisionist organizations. The best pillars of the capitalist order, the direct bearers of bourgeois influence in the proletariat, had proven to be the leading cadres of social democracy and the reformist unions, as well as those of modern revisionism. The labor aristocracy, the bourgeoisized, privileged stratum, is the social basis of opportunism, especially revisionism. Revisionism seeks to corrupt the workers' movement, to win it over to collaboration with the bourgeoisie, to adapt the trade union movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie and subordinate it to them.

The labor aristocracy is the main social basis of opportunism in the trade union movement. The cadres of the agencies of the bourgeoisie are mainly recruited from it. Another condition for the influence of opportunism in the trade union movement is the

fact that the world proletariat is not an externally closed class, but that it receives a constant influx from all countries through elements from the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, the peasantry, who have been relegated to the proletariat by the development of capitalism. Especially from the collaboration between the "left-wing" of the labor aristocracy and the "left" intellectuals come the sharpest attacks against the revolutionary union policy of the RILU, they are our most dangerous opponents.

The philosophy of the labor aristocracy was initially the "trade union only" philosophy (trade unionism). The time has passed when the reformists could babble about the "neutrality" of the trade unions, about the political struggle being a "matter of the parties". The class struggle has taken such hard forms that the reformist union bureaucracy is no longer able to evade the question so deceitfully.

Not a single word of the labor aristocracy nor the intellectual representatives of bourgeois union theories should be believed. They are paid to betray the workers and their class interests.

The Petty Bourgeoisie

It is characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie, which stands between the main classes of world capitalist society, the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie, that it is in constant wavering movement between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie. On one hand, an entire strata loses their livelihood and sinks into the proletariat. On the other hand, the highest stratum of the petty bourgeoisie rises up to the bourgeoisie. If it is true for the petty bourgeoisie as a whole that it wavers in the struggle between the world proletariat and the world

bourgeoisie, its individual strata differ considerably in their objective and subjective position toward the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie. Generally speaking, three petty bourgeois strata can be distinguished, which are the upper, middle, and lower petty bourgeoisie.

The upper petty bourgeoisie comprises the portion of small commodity producers, self-employed craftsmen, farmers, merchants and shopkeepers who have their own means of production, mostly work for themselves and usually employ a few wage laborers, regularly generate surpluses and are not in immediate danger of sinking into the proletariat. It also includes higher civil servants and executive employees (authorized signatories, department heads, etc.), doctors, lawyers, scientists, etc., who are likewise not threatened with sinking into the proletariat. In this strata of the petty bourgeoisie, the transition to the bourgeoisie is fluid. As a rule, the upper petty bourgeoisie strives to rise to the bourgeoisie, even if only a few succeed in doing so. The upper petty bourgeoisie is the closest ally of the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the proletariat. Only the smallest part of the upper petty bourgeoisie will remain neutral in the struggle between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie. Only individuals will take the side of the world proletariat.

The middle petty bourgeoisie consists of the section of small commodity producers, independent craftsmen, farmers, merchants, and shopkeepers who own the means of production themselves, live off their own labor and, as a rule, do not employ wage laborers, who can still just about keep their businesses afloat but no longer generate any appreciable surpluses. They are not yet directly threatened with ruin and sinking into the proletariat, but they are in the long run, and especially under

the conditions of world economic crises. The middle petty bourgeoisie also includes parts of the middle civil servants and employees, teachers, and parts of the liberal professions. Their living situation is generally still much better than that of the working class, but for some of them it is visibly deteriorating. If they are not tenured civil servants, their livelihood is often relatively insecure. A part of them is threatened with unemployment and a part also belongs to the unemployed in the long run. Another part will remain neutral. Only a small part of the middle petty bourgeoisie will actively be in the camp of the counter-revolution.

The lower petty bourgeoisie includes small producers of commodities, independent craftsmen, farmers, merchants, and shopkeepers who no longer earn enough to live and maintain their businesses. They own a small amount of means of production, but even though they toil from early in the morning until late in the evening, they are unable to make ends meet and fall deeper and deeper into debt until they finally have to sell their labor. The majority of peasants who have not yet sunk into the semi-proletariat or rural proletariat belongs to this stratum. A similar fate awaits this section of small, self-employed craftsmen and merchants. Their descent into the proletariat is also imminent. The lower petty bourgeoisie also includes sections of the middle officials and employees who have no means of production at all, but who stand out from the proletariat and semi-proletariat because of their income and other advantages associated with their position. The lower petty bourgeoisie, especially the small farmers, is the closest ally of the proletariat.

The World Bourgeoisie

In the world capitalist society, the world bourgeoisie is irreconcilably opposed to the world proletariat. It is the capitalist class who dominates the world and holds the wealth of the entire world and its wealth in their hands, who owns the essential means of production of the entire world and who supports its parasitic existence from its profits, the source of which is the exploitation of the wage workers of all countries. The existence of the world bourgeoisie is bound to the maintenance of the world capitalist system of exploitation of man by man. The irreconcilable contradiction between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie, between wage labor and capital, can only be resolved by the violent World Socialist Revolution.

The bourgeoisie includes those who live off the exploitation of wage labor, who privately appropriate the wealth earned by the workers in order to live in luxury, to increase their property and to make new investments in order to squeeze even more profit out of the working people. The world bourgeoisie is reactionary through and through, as a class and not solely its most reactionary elements, as the revisionists falsely present it in order to make an "anti-monopoly pact" with the bourgeoisie. There can be no unity between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat. Using all means – fascism and imperialist war, the mass murder of the peoples – world bourgeoisie defends its global system of exploitation. In the pursuit of profit maximization, the world bourgeoisie does not shy away from any crime against man and nature. In the imperialist wars it has waged, it has killed more people than any ruling class before it.

The world bourgeois class includes the international and national monopoly bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie of all countries. Contradictions within the world bourgeoisie exist, for example between the international and national bourgeoisie,

between the monopoly bourgeoisie and every other section of the bourgeoisie, between the two imperialist world camps, between the major and minor imperialists, etc. However, these contradictions are not crucial for the strategy of the world proletariat and its vanguard party, the Comintern (SH), because what is at stake is the destruction of the entire world bourgeoisie, the smashing of both imperialist camps, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in every country in the world. The contradictions within the bourgeoisie are placed aside from the main contradiction to the world proletariat and its World Socialist Revolution, which the world bourgeoisie will be overthrown and destroyed with. One must nevertheless know these contradictions in order to be able to tactically exploit them if necessary. In order to correctly assess the forces of the world revolution and the counter-revolution on the basis of the analysis of the classes, one must know the contradictions within the camp of the world bourgeoisie well.

The monopoly bourgeoisie under the leadership of the global financial oligarchy is the ruling lever within the world bourgeoisie. Global political, economic, and military power is concentrated in its hands.

The affiliation of a capitalist to the monopoly bourgeoisie is not primarily determined by the amount of his personal wealth, by the amount of means production they personally own in the legal sense, by the number of wage laborers they directly face as a buyer of the commodity labor power and as an exploiter. Rather, the decisive factor for belonging to the monopoly bourgeoisie is mainly the extent which the capitalist is able, through a diverse and ramified system of participation and control, to dominate outside capital, whether through bank shares or shareholdings in industry. The criterion is their

influence in monopolizing world markets and world production. Of great importance is the influence that a financial group, a bank, a corporation, can exert on the international system of states because of its economic power.

The monopoly bourgeoisie includes the finance capitalists, the bosses of the banks and insurance companies, the large industrial and commercial groups. It also includes the top managers of the monopolies. The monopoly bourgeoisie also includes the tops of the state apparatuses, military apparatuses, and the top of the union apparatuses.

The monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the financial oligarchy, is the most reactionary part of the world bourgeoisie. It is the driving force of fascism and the plunder of all countries, the driving force of imperialist wars and the destruction of the environment.

The middle bourgeoisie includes all capitalists who do not belong to the monopoly bourgeoisie. According to the capitalist law of robbery: "The small capitalists are swallowed up by the big capitalists!", the share of the middle bourgeoisie decreases, especially during times of crisis, when the centralization and monopolization of capital assumes even greater proportions.

The middle bourgeoisie also includes the highest posts in industrial and commercial enterprises, in banks, and insurance companies, in the state, the administration, the army, the police, and the union apparatus, insofar as they do not belong to the monopoly bourgeoisie as immediate top leaders.

The middle bourgeoisie includes the especially privileged and most of the top earners of capitalist class society such as stock market speculators, chief physicians, top stars, successful writers, etc.

In the field of agriculture, the middle bourgeoisie includes the landowners and the agrarian capitalists, as long as they do not belong to the monopoly bourgeoisie.

As part of the bourgeoisie, the middle bourgeoisie is as much the mortal enemy of the world proletariat as the entire world bourgeoisie. Decisive contradictions between the middle bourgeoisie and the monopoly bourgeoisie do not exist as long as they share their common destiny of being overthrown as a whole.

The living conditions of the world bourgeoisie are already destroyed in the living conditions of the world proletariat, which is propertyless.

The world bourgeoisie is no longer capable of remaining the ruling class of world capitalism and imposing the law of profit maximization on world society.

It is incapable of ruling the world because it is incapable of ensuring the existence of the exploited classes even within its global system of exploitation.

The globalization of capital has been multiplied by exploitation and oppression in all the countries of the world to eventually deprive them of so much capital and labor that one by one they

are driven into bankruptcy and now hang on its drip, it is hostile to them.

World capitalism forces the billions of masses of this world into a situation where it must feed them instead of being fed by them. The world can no longer live under the world bourgeoisie, its life is no longer compatible with the society of world capitalism.

With the globalization of the world economy, the world bourgeoisie deprives itself of the basis of its own existence, on which it produces and appropriates the products.

Above all, it produces the world proletariat - its gravedigger.

It also produces the communist leaders of the world proletarian movement, who emphasize the property question of the world material and spiritual production as the fundamental question of the world revolutionary movement.

The global "expropriation of the expropriators" is the only method to break the chains of capitalist wage slavery, which is the basis of the wealth and power of the world bourgeoisie.

Chapter VI

The Union Teachings of Stalinism-Hoxhaism

What is the definition of Stalinism-Hoxhaism in the trade union question?

Stalinism-Hoxhaism in the trade union question is the theory and tactics of the organized link between the vanguard and the broad masses of the world proletariat for the abolition of wage

slavery, for the revolutionary elimination of the basic contradiction between world capital and world labor in general, and it is in particular the theory and tactics of the world socialist trade unions as the decisive transmission belt of the dictatorship of the world proletariat.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the world proletarian ideology of the revolutionary elimination and complete overcoming of the capitalist world of labor and the creation of a classless, that is, communist world of labor.

Stalinist-Hoxhaist unionists are such trade unionists who develop from pupils to teachers of the school of world communism.

The Stalinist-Hoxhaist union movement is the trade union movement of the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

Historically has been practically proved by the proletariat long ago:

Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the only ideological weapon with which the bourgeois trade unions have already been defeated once. Stalinism-Hoxhaism was the only ideology that ever prevailed over the bourgeois ideology in the trade unions. The trade unions of world imperialism have historically been forced to pass off their bourgeois weapons as the weapons of their class enemy - this alone must be judged as a historic victory of Stalinism-Hoxhaism in the trade union question. Thus, the cloaking of proletarian class ideology in the trade unions was a sign of the ideological weakness of the bourgeois trade unions, not of their strength.

The generalizations of the experience of the struggle against modern revisionism in the trade union question form the basis for building Stalinist-Hoxhaist unions in world socialism.

Every new social order does not come into the world ready-made, just as the old social order is not finished at one stroke. It is a long, complicated process with many avoidable as well as unavoidable detours and sacrificial wrong ways, and this also concerns the old and new trade unions. We do not want to eliminate the unions, but to replace the old ones with new ones. The reconstruction of the RILU is not limited to the goal of re-establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of old socialist conditions in one country, but serves beyond that the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of world socialism.

Without a strong Red International of Labour Unions, the world proletariat cannot overthrow the global capitalist system of exploitation. Without it, the world proletariat will not create world socialism.

World proletariat - unite the revolutionary unions of all countries!

The Red International of Labour Unions is an organization of the Comintern (SH), a school of world communism, which unites, trains and supports the revolutionary trade union struggle of the world proletariat in general.

The RILU is guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha, especially their revolutionary union line, which must be defended, applied and developed in the daily

international class struggle.

The particular experiences and conclusions of the revolutionary union struggle in each country are in turn the basis of the centralized and concentrated analysis and generalization of the entire international workers movement for the further development of the general line of the RILU.

The first line is about the mutual support and solidarity of all revolutionary trade unionists around the world to make the struggle of the world proletariat a great lever for the victory of the World Socialist Revolution.

The RILU leads and organizes the struggle of uniting all world revolutionary forces of the world trade union movement in opposition to class reconciliationism, splitting, capitulationism and liquidationism, especially all branches of revisionism and reformism, Trotskyism, anarcho-syndicalism and any bourgeois influence within the world trade union movement. The RILU is a proletarian international class organization, independent and free from influence of the oppressive and exploiting class of the world bourgeoisie.

The RILU fights for the world revolutionary destruction of the bourgeois and imperialist, revisionist and social-imperialist trade unions. Only on the ruins of these counterrevolutionary instruments of world capitalism will it be possible to build revolutionary, socialist trade unions. The RILU strives for socialist trade unions as an instrument to establish the dictatorship of the world proletariat and to build socialism - both on a national and international scale. The RILU fights for the future construction of an international organization of trade unions of all socialist countries of the world all over the world.

The Red International of Labour Unions is a lever of the World Socialist Revolution in the hands of the world proletariat. All other International Trade Unions are a lever against the World Socialist Revolution in the hands of the world bourgeoisie.

In history, the trade unions of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin and the trade unions of Socialist Albania occupy a place of honor at the head of the world trade union movement. Today's Stalinist-Hoxhaist unions, united in the RILU, are learning from them and will follow their example in today's global class struggle.

Although the Albanian working class was small in numbers and inexperienced in trade union struggle, immediately after the victorious war of liberation against the fascist occupiers in one of the smallest and least developed countries in the world, it succeeded not only in leading the people's revolution to victory, but also in building its own independent red socialist trade union. This great historical event expresses the universality of the teachings of the 5th classic of Marxism-Leninism.

Hoxhaism in the trade union question is that Hoxhaism formed the ideological basis for the revolutionary breakthrough of the reformist-revisionist encirclement of the bourgeois world trade union movement.

There is no place for bourgeois-reformist-revisionist trade unions in world socialism. If we want to smash world capitalism, we must also smash its capitalist unions. In keeping with its position as the vanguard of the world's revolutionary unions, the RILU is waging a principled struggle against the revisionist unions on a world scale.

The Stalinist-Hoxhaist unions contribute significantly to the establishment and consolidation of the dictatorship of the world proletariat.

They fulfill their role as the main lever of the World Party, as the central link of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, as the transmission belt of the World Party with the toiling masses all over the world.

Thousands of innovators loyal to the Comintern (SH) will grow up in the Stalinist-Hoxhaist trade unions. The cadres of the RILU will play an exemplary role, both in production and in daily life, in building world socialism and in fulfilling their duty to socialist internationalism.

The RILU is a school of world communism in general and a global school of anti-revisionist struggle in particular.

We will not limit our organizational goals to Stalinist-Hoxhaist revolutionary cells in individual countries, but will organize directly and globally the workers in the world's biggest industrial monopolies! The world capitalists have already begun the so-called "Fifth Technological Stage," characterized by the reduction of the workers' share in production and the increase of the share of industrial robots. It will further aggravate the present miserable situation of industrial workers, and their considerable part will remain without work. On a global scale, rationalization will lead to the unemployment of hundreds of millions of industrial workers.

The RILU was founded in the foresight that the trade union

movement against global capitalism will inevitably produce its new global forms.

Under the conditions of the domination of global capital, the worker of today needs not only the solidarity of his colleagues in his own country, but the globally organized solidarity of the entire world proletariat.

The global competition and division of workers in different countries can only be countered by the basic principle of the Red International of trade unions:

A global negotiating table for the enforcement of equal demands of the workers in exclusively all countries of the world.

The Red International of Labour Unions is the leader of the new, globally unionized field of struggle between global labor and global capital.

On this globally unionized field of struggle, all national revolutionary trade unions play their role as sections of the Red International of Labour Unions, which collectively coordinates all global actions in every country of the world.

2) First, it is necessary to organize solidarity with the revolutionary trade union struggle, especially in the countries where workers' rights are most cruelly trampled.

The current free fall of world wages (wage dumping) must be stopped through global struggle actions organized by the RILU.

In the course of this global struggle for wages, the activities of

the Red Trade Union International will be expanded, such as the general improvement of working conditions, etc.

Finally, the extension of the influence of the global front of revolutionary unions to the entire global labor world is gaining importance. The struggle for the improvement of workers' lives is being transformed by the RILU into a struggle for the revolutionary breaking of all global chains of wage slavery. Through these world struggles, the elements on the side of world labor, as well as the elements of world capital, become more and more polarized. Once at this point, the Red International of Labour Unions will be able to fulfill its political tasks, namely, to finally abolish ruinous labor competition on a world scale and to abolish the enslaving global capitalist labor market.

Without the international unification of the revolutionary trade union movement, the international workers movement is powerless. Any unorganized spontaneity is in the interests of the capitalists and doomed to defeat. The international workers' movement will stand on shaky legs. It is only as strong as the strength of its organizational global centralization.

The Red International of Labour Unions is an organization that encompasses the world proletariat in its entirety, but it is not capable of realizing the world dictatorship of the proletariat. The RILU cannot replace the most decisive role of the Communist International. The RILU is only a part of various world organizations of the proletariat, which all function as cogs in the gears of the international class struggle (= driving belt of the World Socialist Revolution).

The world dictatorship of the proletariat can only be realized

through the leadership of its vanguard, through the world proletarian party, which is closely linked to the RILU.

Without this mutual mechanism, the transition from world imperialism to world socialism cannot be achieved.

In the interest of securing global profit maximization, it is inevitable for the world bourgeoisie to integrate the national Yellow Unions into a global instrument for regulating wage slavery. This globalized system of yellow unions thus has the task of transforming strikebreaking in the various countries into global strikebreaking. This is the decisive feature of the current globalization of the yellow union system.

The more the globalized world capital puts pressure on the individual unions, the more urgent is the global unionization of the Red unions. Globalization is the characteristic tendency of the changing world movement of the working class, including its revolutionary unions. Under the conditions of globalization, the centralized work of the RILU is essential for the revolutionary unions in each country. And without the support of the red unions in the countries, the RILU cannot defeat the world headquarters of the social-imperialist unions.

The revolutionary trade unions of the countries are an inseparable part of the internationalist world union movement. This relationship is synonymous with the togetherness of the proletariat of the different countries (as parts) and the world proletariat (as a whole). Strengthening the revolutionary trade unions in the countries and integrating them into the whole world revolutionary movement is a task that can be solved only through joint efforts of the red union of a country and the Red

International of Labour Unions. In this way it is possible and necessary to destroy the global system of yellow trade unionism.

This, and only this, is the only guarantee of victory over the yellow unionism in one's own country under the present conditions of globalized wage slavery!

The global apparatus of the capitalist-reactionary unions (including the reformist-revisionist and syndicalist!) is an integral part of the dictatorship of the world bourgeoisie. Therefore, this global system of bourgeois unions cannot be taken over by the world proletariat. On the contrary, the world proletariat must completely destroy it and establish a global system of socialist unions as part of the dictatorship of the world proletariat.

It is not impossible that the capitalist union can be defeated in its own country. Certainly, but this costs much more sacrifices, as long as the capitalist union is supported by the entire world capitalist system.

It is a fact that this defeat cannot be guaranteed at all, because the capitalist union will inevitably be restored, as long as the dictatorship of the world bourgeoisie exists. If one wants to cancel the inevitability of the restoration of reactionary unions, one needs the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only the victory of the RILU can guarantee the elimination of the inevitability of counter-revolutionary unions, which are one of the most important instruments for protecting the interests of capital against the interests of labor by means of the so-called "internal social peace."

The essential task of the RILU is to wage a globally organized war against the yellow unions with the aim of winning the power of the world proletariat. Thus, the RILU is a central and indispensable instrument of the World Socialist Revolution.

There is no more important task today for a class-conscious unionist than to propagate, prepare and carry out the world revolutionary class struggle within the yellow unions.

Therefore, the creation of the red union in any country under the conditions of globalization cannot proceed in a straight line and cannot be separated from the development of the international union movement.

The RILU is a necessary global base and lever for the creation of red unions in individual countries, or for the organization of Revolutionary Oppositions within the yellow unions.

The yellow union survives in the labor movement as long as the workers hesitate to create their union with its own revolutionary class character. Daily and hourly, the yellow union leaders undermine the revolutionary class consciousness of the trade unionists through their bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology. Their anti-communism takes forms of social fascism, discrimination, bullying and exclusions. In some statutes of the yellow unions, communist workers are excluded from membership.

Despite their increasing social-fascist character, the bourgeois unions are still revered as a supposed "sacred cow" that must not be slaughtered. At least the bourgeois unions are tolerated as a so-called "lesser evil" by most colleagues.

This superstition will be eliminated and this myth overcome only when the workers have fully understood that a class union of the bourgeoisie can never represent the interests of the working class. Bourgeois unions are unions of strikebreakers, lackeys of the capitalists and the capitalist state!

For over 100 years the bourgeoisie has divided trade unionists, and there are two lines in the world trade union movement, the revolutionary line and the reactionary line. The RILU was and is again the most effective instrument to overcome the division of the world proletariat.

A trade union cannot serve two masters at the same time. The union must serve the workers exclusively. Therefore, the power over the yellow union must be knocked out of the hands of the capitalists.

RILU – The School of World Communism

What did Lenin mean when he said that "trade unions are the school of communism"?

"Capitalism inevitably leaves socialism the legacy, on the one hand, of the old trade and craft distinctions among the workers, distinctions evolved in the course of centuries; on the other hand, trade unions, which only very slowly, in the course of years and years, can and will develop into broader industrial unions with less of the craft union about them (embracing entire industries, and not only crafts, trades and occupations), and later proceed, through these industrial unions, to eliminate the division of labour among people, to educate and school people, give them all-round development and an all-round training, so

that they are able to do everything. Communism is advancing and must advance towards that goal, and will reach it, but only after very many years. To attempt in practice, today, to anticipate this future result of a fully developed, fully stabilised and constituted, fully comprehensive and mature communism would be like trying to teach higher mathematics to a child of four." (Lenin: "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 31; Moscow; 1966; p.49-50; English Edition).

What Lenin teaches here about the "school of communism" is, of course, all the more valid when applied to the "school of world communism".

The Ideological Struggle of the RILU

The practical victory of the red unions is always prepared and initiated by the theoretical victories on the world union front!

The ideological preparation of the working class for struggle consists in developing its spirit of solidarity, its consciousness of the need for iron discipline, and its caution and nerve when the employers and the state unleash their offensive. The working class and its organizations are constantly influenced and pressured by the ruling classes and the bourgeois state. The bourgeoisie must ideologically conquer the working class, because its rule is based not only on brute force, but above all on the ideology it instills in the working class. All the material and moral forces of contemporary capitalist society converge in a single goal: to transform the working class into a machine for the production of surplus value.

In this regard, it is necessary to learn from the struggle of Lenin

and Stalin's Soviet Union against the hostile currents within the Soviet trade unions under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as from the experience of Socialist Albania under the leadership of Enver Hoxha.

The right opportunist tendencies in the Soviet trade unions not only hindered the development of socialist construction and posed a danger to the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, but also played the role of a stumbling block in the revolutionization of the international trade union movement. The right opportunists in all countries (Brandler, Hais, Lovestone, Gitlow, etc.) pinned their hopes on the right opportunist elements within the Soviet trade unions, who overestimated the forces of the Amsterdam International and underestimated the forces of the RILU. The opportunist leaders within the Soviet trade unions were stripped of their posts and replaced by revolutionary cadres. These new cadres were educated directly through active participation in the class struggle in the unions.

Everyone coming out of the reformist-revisionist trade union movement must be re-educated. Every step forward, every new sharpening of the struggle, every sharp turn in the field of revolutionary tactics evokes the resistance of some and the turning away of others. This is the source of the errors, weaknesses and vacillations in the consistent implementation of the RILU's revolutionary trade union line.

Where does one find new cadres of revolutionary unionists?

In the factories, in the strike leaderships, in the number of active pioneers at the front of the class struggle in the factory and the trade union. New revolutionary forces must be drawn from these struggles and placed in leading positions. The daily struggles are

the best school for the cadres of the revolutionary trade union movement. Of course, we must not only instruct revolutionary unionists in the daily struggle, but also train them theoretically with the RILU and its policies, we must acquaint them with our Stalinist-Hoxhaist literature. The education of revolutionary union cadres constitutes the most important political task of the entire revolutionary world trade union movement.

Every member of the RILU, every member of the revolutionary trade union opposition, etc., must actively work to incorporate new layers of workers, working men and women and youth into the revolutionary world trade union movement.

One must fight the sluggishness, the passivity, the reformist traditions, and within our own ranks, one must fight all that loosens our ties with the masses and that hinders the growth of the influence of the revolutionary trade union movement. Every revolutionary worker can become a member of the Red International of Labour Unions if they accept the following conditions:

- 1. Advocacy of the principles of the revolutionary class struggle.*
- 2. Application of these principles in their daily struggle against capitalism and the bourgeois state.*
- 3. Recognition of the necessity of the overthrow of capitalism through socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the transition to communism.*
- 4. Recognition of international proletarian discipline and submission to it.*

5. Recognition and implementation of the decisions of the Red International of Labour Unions.

6. Breaking with the yellow unions and all other trade union currents that oppose the Red International of Labour Unions.

7. All organizations which are members of the RILU should strive, according to the existing conditions, for action units directed against the bourgeoisie, against the capitalist trade unions, their leaders and their "left" lackeys. Communists must vigorously and consistently defend their principles in the struggle against the anti-communist theories of independence and the separation of politics and economics, ideas so harmful to the revolutionary advance of the working class. At the same time, communists in the trade unions must strive to coordinate their activity in the daily struggle against reformism and anarcho-syndicalist shadow boxing with all revolutionary forces working for the overthrow of capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Control of Production, Workers' Control

Companies are nothing but the result of the collective work of workers.

Without control over the factories, none of the problems facing the working class today can be solved.

"Order is certainly necessary wherever work is done jointly. But is it necessary that people who work should be subordinated to the tyranny of the factory owners, i.e., of people who do not work themselves and who are only strong because they have taken hold of all the machines, instruments and materials?"

(Lenin: 'Explanation of the Law of Fines Imposed on Factory Workers' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 2; Moscow; 1972; p.34; English Edition).

Unemployment, factory closures, etc., - this is all connected with the question of the control of production. On this question there can be no compromise, no middle ground, and no kind of control that is easily acceptable to both employers and workers. Controlling overproduction means placing all the various operations of the factory under the control of the workers: industrial, technical, financial, and commercial operations. In other words, the many and varied forms of today's productive activity must be completely and all-sidedly controlled by the workers. One would have to be very naïve to hope that workers' control could be imposed without violent resistance on the part of the ruling classes. Should this fact discourage workers from fighting? Obviously not. But to speak of parity and equality today, of workers' democracy and workers' control, when one side has all the available resources of the country in its hands, while the other side watches these processes as a passive spectator, is nothing but a mockery of the most elementary demands of the working class. Workers' control is incompatible with the principle of bipartism advocated by the bourgeoisie, with nationalization, etc. It opposes the dictatorship of the proletariat to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

What does Stalinism-Hoxhaism teach about the trade unions?

In world capitalism, the trade unions are instruments of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to maintain wage slavery, the

capitalist system of exploitation and oppression of the working class.

With the World Socialist Revolution, the world proletariat eliminates wage slavery and destroys the capitalist unions.

Under world socialism, the trade unions become instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat to eliminate the inevitability of the restoration of wage slavery and the capitalist trade unions in its service.

In world capitalism, the task of the revolutionary unions is to explain the antagonistic contradiction between wage labor and capital to the workers through the method of scientific socialism and to propagate the ideas of the necessity and inevitability of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The task of the working class is not only to create the socialist revolution, but to use the results of its victory over the bourgeoisie for the construction of World Socialism through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The workers will have to face the questions of world production in all its immensity in both the course of the revolution and its aftermath. To maintain world production at the pre-revolutionary level and then to increase it on the basis of collective labor and the suppression of the private profits of the capitalists - that is the tremendous task which will fall with all its weight on the trade unions. The trade unions form the basis of the industrial structure of the new society, they are the backbone of the new productive apparatus. The systematic construction of the industrial apparatus of socialist society is only possible if the trade unions are prepared to take it on. The reconstruction of the trade unions through industry is not only the prerequisite for

success in the struggle against the capitalists, but also the prerequisite for the organization of world socialist production after the victory of the working class. There can be no destruction of world capitalism and the capitalist unions serving it without the building of socialist unions under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Hoxhaism and the Unions

Although the Albanian working class was numerically small and still inexperienced in the union struggle, immediately after the victorious war of liberation against the fascist occupiers in one of the smallest and most backward countries in the world, it not only succeeded in leading the dictatorship of the proletariat to victory, but also in building a socialist union. This expresses the universality of the teachings of the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism.

Hoxhaism in the Trade Union Question consists of the fact that it formed the ideological basis for the revolutionary breaking through of the reformist-revisionist encirclement of the bourgeois world trade union movement.

Hoxhaism is the ideological basis of the revolutionary union line in the struggle against the reformist-revisionist union line on an international scale. The Hoxhaist trade union is the school of the anti-reformist-revisionist struggle for world communism. This is precisely the international importance of Hoxhaism in the question of trade unions.

The 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism taught that the first and most important transmission belt linking the party with the working class is the trade union.

In close connection with and under the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania - with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head - the Albanian unions significantly contributed to the establishment and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Albanian unions were built on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

They fulfilled their role as the most important lever of the party, as a link in the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a transmission belt of the Party with the working masses.

In the Albanian trade unions, thousands of innovators grew up, loyal to the party. They played an exemplary role both in production and in daily life in building socialism and in fulfilling their duty to proletarian internationalism.

The Albanian unions were a school of communism in general, and a school of anti-revisionist struggle in particular.

The Albanian unions have waged a principled struggle against the revisionist unions at the international level and had maintained their revolutionary supremacy. Of great importance was the solidarity of the Albanian unions with the trade union struggle of the revolutionary workers all over the world.

In the capitalist countries, the Albanian unions were a guiding star for the fledgling Marxist-Leninist parties in their revolutionary union work inside and outside the bourgeois-reformist unions. The Albanian state was the only state in the

world that supported the organizations of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition (RGO).

But the Albanian unions also took a leading position in the revisionist countries. As an example we can mention the revolutionary union struggle of the KPD/ML in the revisionist unions of the DDR, which was waged on the basis of Hoxhaism.

The Albanian unions always took a revolutionary stance against exploitation and oppression all over the world, against imperialism and social-imperialism, against old and neo-colonialism, against reformism and revisionism and against all opportunist currents within the trade union movement (anarcho-syndicalism, Trotskyism, Maoism, etc.).

The Albanian unions always fought for the triumph of world revolution, world socialism and world communism.

In this exemplary struggle, the Albanian unions were not alone. The entire Marxist-Leninist World Movement stood behind them in solidarity. Many friends and allies in all countries of the world supported the Albanian unions in solidarity and accepted the invitations to see the victorious construction of socialism in Albania for themselves.

Delegates from revolutionary trade union organizations all over the world participated in the trade union congresses.

In the history of the revolutionary trade union movement, the Albanian unions occupied a place of honor.

But it is not only about honoring the historical merits of the Albanian trade unions.

Instead, it is about learning from them and following their example in today's class struggle.

Chapter VII

The Relationship between the RILU and the Comintern

This relationship is derived from the relationship between the Bolshevik Party and the trade unions - on a world scale:

The connection of the party with the masses and its constant consolidation is one of the basic organizational principles of the party. Lenin and Stalin taught that the Communist Party is the embodiment of the connection of the vanguard of the working class with the masses of millions of working people.

"The connection with the masses, the consolidation of this connection, the willingness to listen to the voices of the masses, said Joseph Stalin, "therein lies the strength and invincibility of the Bolshevik leadership." The main means which the Party leads the trade union federation by is the active participation of communists in that organization. The trade unions are not only a bridge, but are also the richest reservoir which the Party draws new strength from.

"The only correct principle is the closest possible alignment of the unions with the Party." (Lenin: 'Preface to the Collection Twelve Years' in: 'Collected Works, Volume 13; Moscow; 1978; p.108; English Edition).

And not the opposite, the "closest alignment of the party with the union"!

The development of the revolutionary trade union movement follows the development of the communist movement and not vice versa.

This Leninist principle has also been the basis in the relationship between the RILU and the Comintern:

The closest alignment of the RILU with the Comintern - that is the only correct principle of the relationship between the World Party and its mass trade union organization.

This already begins with the creation of communist party cells in the factories, which guide and lead the RILU there as a mass organization - the interlocking of the vanguard of the world proletariat with its mass organizations thus begins in the factory.

The task of the party committees and the basic organizations is to fight the underestimation of the trade union federation and to make the communists do a conscientious work to further consolidate the RILU.

This relationship is reflected in all the higher instances of cooperation between the Comintern and the RILU, up to the highest instance, that is, between the World Congress of the Comintern and that of the RILU. The world congresses of the Comintern always took place first and the world congresses of the RILU were only immediately afterwards, at which the decisions of the Comintern were implemented. And members of the RILU leadership were also represented in the ECCI.

Central Comintern appeals to the international proletariat were often written and issued jointly with the RILU. [see the RILU Archives of the Comintern (SH)].

Excerpt from the Theses of the Second World Congress of the Comintern, June 1920:

"Since communists attach more importance to the aim and essence of trade unions than to their form, they should not shrink from splitting the trade union organizations if the refusal to split would be tantamount to abandoning revolutionary work in the unions.

"It is the duty of communists, at all stages of the economic struggle, to point out to the workers that the struggle can be successful only if the working class defeats the capitalist class in open struggle and sets about the work of socialist construction by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this sense, communists must seek to establish, as far as possible, complete unity between the trade unions and the communist party, and to subordinate the trade unions to the leadership of the party as the vanguard of the workers' revolution. To this end, communists must form communist party fractions in all unions and factory committees."

The RILU Constitution of November 1922 (adopted at the Second World Congress of the RILU) states in Paragraph X:

"For the purpose of coordinating the struggle of all

revolutionary organizations, the Executive Bureau can, if circumstances require it:

"1. Conclude agreements with the Executive Committee of the Third (Communist) International.

"2. Arrange mutual sessions with the Executive Bureau of the Third (Communist) International for the purpose of discussing the most important questions of the working class labor movement, and for the organization of concerted actions.

"3. Issue appeals jointly with the Communist International." ('Constitution of the Red International of Labor Unions; 1922; English Edition).

Enver Hoxha said:

"The Marxist-Leninist Party attaches great importance to the creation of mass organizations directed by it. Certainly, this is not a question that is easy to solve, especially today, since in all capitalist and revisionist countries there are many types of trade union organizations. The majority of these organizations are under the direction and influence of the bourgeoisie, the revisionists and the church.

"But the communists, as Lenin teaches us, must penetrate and work everywhere where there are masses. Therefore, there is no other way than that they also work in the mass organizations led and influenced by the bourgeoisie, social democracy, the revisionists, etc. The Marxist-Leninists work in them to undermine the influence and leadership of the bourgeois and

reformist parties, to spread the influence of the revolutionary party of the working class among the masses, to expose the fraudulent character of the programs and activity of the leaders of these organizations, to give the actions of the masses anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist political character. Through the revolutionary work they do among the masses, revolutionary factions can also be formed within these organizations, possibilities can even be created to get hold of the leadership of these organizations and orient them towards the right path.

"But in no case does the Marxist-Leninist Party give up the goal of building revolutionary mass organizations under its own leadership." [!!!]

This is one of the irrevocable, anti-revisionist principles of Hoxhaism, to never renounce the building of independent communist unions. The Comintern (SH) is the only party in the world that correctly implements this important Hoxhaist principle in practice. Therein lies our strength.

The Relationship between the RILU and the Comintern (SH)

The struggle between the old and newly founded RILU, between the dying and the newly emerging - this is the basis of the further development of the RILU under the leadership of the Comintern (SH).

At the time of the founding of the Comintern (SH), there was neither a revolutionary world center under the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor a Comintern supported by communist parties, not even a single genuine Marxist-Leninist Party. There

were only weak remnants of the former Hoxhaist parties. And so the RILU was re-established by the Comintern (SH), not even three years after its own foundation.

We have thus entered the period of prevailing globalization of communist organizations, globalization of the world communist movement, a new phase of global preparation of the World Socialist Revolution. The times when the individual communist parties of the countries dominated in the world communist movement are definitely over. In the coming period of the World Socialist Revolution, in the period of World Socialism, the world proletariat needs a new type of global communist organizations and movements. These global communist organizations will determine the future look of the World Communist Movement.

The world proletariat is becoming a globalized class, not only because of its increasing worldwide unification, but also because of its growing world socialist consciousness.

Only the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world proletariat is a revolutionary proletariat that recognizes its class tasks, namely, the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie through World Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the armed dictatorship of the world proletariat.

Those who today deny the necessity of the Communist International and its RILU and cling to the outdated forms of organization of the Comintern and the RILU represent the position of dogmatism. The renunciation of the further development of the party of the world proletariat under the changing conditions of globalization is incompatible with the further developing international working class, incompatible with the constantly developing world proletarian ideology.

The revisionists of all shades, including the neo-revisionists, are declared enemies of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist formation of the World Party of the Proletariat and its RILU.

The Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists) is not only the sum of its sections of the countries. The Comintern (SH) leads a global system of the Bolshevik organizations, their unification in all forms as a unified whole. The Comintern (SH) is the highest class organization of the world proletariat, but not the only one. All world organizations serve the world proletariat in one way or another.

As the highest form of class organization, the Comintern (SH) determines the general political line (including its revolutionary union line) and its application by producing its globally-unified, centralized leadership. The political leadership of the Comintern (SH) embraces all forms of the organizations of the world proletariat (including the RILU). The Comintern (SH) is the most important and central instrument for the leadership of the RILU and the Stalinist-Hoxhaist trade union movement.

Without Comintern (SH), there is no RILU.

Without Stalinist-Hoxhaist trade union theory and tactics, there is no RILU.

Without the RILU, there is no Stalinist-Hoxhaist world trade union movement.

As for the rights of the Comintern (SH) and its interference in the affairs of the RILU, the Comintern (SH) is not an organization that sits enthroned above the stars, looking down

on what is happening in the RILU and merely "registering" what is happening there. The Comintern (SH) is the decisive fighting organization of the world proletariat, it is intertwined with the workers' movement with all the roots of its being, and it cannot but interfere in the affairs of the RILU in order to support the revolutionary elements and fight their opponents. Of course the RILU has its internal autonomy, of course the RILU must be free, it must create its own organs. But to conclude from this that the Comintern (SH) does not have the right to direct and consequently to interfere is to work into the hands of the enemies of communism.

For all countries, even for those where the class struggle expresses itself less sharply, the systematic combination of legal and illegal work, of legal and illegal organization, is absolutely necessary for the sections of the Party and the RILU. Because even in the most enlightened and free countries with the most 'stable' bourgeois-democratic order, the governments and bourgeois union leaders, contrary to their mendacious and hypocritical declarations, resort to drawing up secret blacklists of communists and red unionists, to endless violations of their own statutes for the secret preparation of arrests of communists, etc. Only the most reactionary philistinism, however beautiful, 'democratic', and pacifist phrases it may cloak itself, can deny this fact or the indispensable conclusion from it that the Comintern (SH) and its RILU must immediately create illegal organizations to carry out systematic illegal work and thoroughly prepare for the moment when the persecutions by the bourgeoisie begin.

The Comintern's (SH) 21 Conditions of Admission states in § 9 and § 10:

9

Anyone who wishes to belong to the Comintern (SH), is committed to systematic, persistent and unflagging communist work within the trade unions, co-operative societies and other workers' mass organisations.

These organizations have to form Stalinist-Hoxhaist cells and to win the unions over to the world communist cause. In every phase of their day-by-day activity these cells must unmask the treachery of the reformists, revisionists, neo-revisionists and the vacillation of the 'Centrists'. The cells must be completely subordinate to the party as a whole.

10

Everyone who belongs to the Comintern (SH) is obliged to wage a determined struggle against the yellow world union. Your indefatigable propaganda should show the organised workers the need to break with the yellow unions, and you must also be active among non-unionized workers. Everyone must join the Red International of Trade Unions and simultaneously support every revolutionary opposition within the yellow trade unions by all means.

The strength of the vanguard of the world proletariat is characterized by its ability to unite and centralize the best revolutionary proletarians of all countries, by its ability to lead proletarians worldwide in the struggle against the globalized class enemy.

Where does the vanguard of the world proletariat get its strength?

The vanguard of the world proletariat draws its strength from the mass organizations of the proletarians of all countries, from the mass organizations of the Comintern (SH), above all from the workers of the factory and the trade unions.

The trade unions are transmission belts of the Comintern (SH). With the vanguard alone, the world proletariat cannot be victorious.

The vanguard alone cannot lead the world proletariat to World Socialist Revolution. This requires a transmission belt between the Comintern (SH) and the world proletariat and then a transmission belt between the world proletariat and all the oppressed and exploited masses of the world.

The World Socialist Revolution requires the leadership of the Comintern (SH), plus the leadership by the mass organizations of the world proletariat, plus the mobilization of the mass organizations of the world proletariat, plus the implementation of the World Socialist Revolution by the exploited and oppressed masses all over the world. The organization of the World Socialist Revolution is thus characterized by a whole series of transitions, all linked together in a global revolutionary movement.

The importance of the vanguard of the world proletariat is precisely to realistically assess the will, condition, and stage of consciousness of the class and then the masses before the World Socialist Revolution can be successfully carried out.

In general, the main task of the Comintern (SH) is to create the most favorable conditions for the maturation of the subjective

factor of the World Socialist Revolution. In short, to firstly convince a revolutionary minority of the world proletariat, then the entire world proletariat and finally the broad masses of the necessity of the World Socialist Revolution.

The main task of the Comintern (SH) is above all to unite the class struggle of the mass organizations of the proletarians of all countries worldwide and to direct it towards the goal of World Socialist Revolution. The world proletariat must be enabled to carry out its own global actions at any time, in any situation and under any circumstances, especially the factory and trade union actions.

The strengthening of the RILU is essential for the strengthening of the Comintern (SH).

The RILU must primarily serve the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat and the strengthening of its world party - the Comintern (SH) - in general and especially in individual countries.

The building of the Comintern (SH) as the central leading organ of the world proletariat must be dialectically connected and brought into harmony with the building of the RILU.

Any interruption, any error and mistake, any failure and delay in the necessary combination and harmonization of the RILU and the Comintern (SH) can lead to complications, to weaknesses and, in the worst case, to the complete liquidation of the Communist International and thus to the defeat of the world proletariat in its struggle for the elimination of world capitalism and for the establishment of its global dictatorship.

How do we define the "self-reliance" of the RILU as the most important mass organization of the Comintern (SH)?

The self-reliance of the RILU is part of the self-reliance of the World Party.

The self-reliance of the World Party is necessary for its global party building in general and for the building of the RILU in particular - corresponding to the self-reliance of the world proletariat.

There is no self-reliance of the Comintern (SH) without the self-reliance of the RILU. And conversely, there is no self-reliance of the RILU without the self-reliance of the Comintern (SH). Both form an inseparable bond between the highest class organization of the world proletariat to all its other class organizations, like the RILU.

Chapter VIII

Reform or Revolution?

Yellow or Red Unions?

The only truly revolutionary tactic is based on this understanding of the relationship between reforms and revolution, as it is based both on an assessment of the real strength of the class and on the exploitation of even minor means of struggle against our class enemy.

Reforms are a byproduct of the revolutionary struggle.

What is the relationship between winning social reforms and ending the entire system of exploitation? Within the workers movement there are two radically different answers to these questions. On the one hand, the majority of trade union

leaders believe that the goal of workers' organizations is to win social reforms. In their opinion, the development of social reforms will make the capitalist system disappear and establish harmony between the different classes. Social reforms will free society from all the problems caused by the class struggle. This is the counter-revolutionary theory underlying the actions of all right-wing groups in the workers' movement. They limit the workers' struggle to daily questions of immediate interest. General class questions, such as the replacement of one class by another and the defeat of the capitalist system, are of little interest to them. Both the theoreticians and the practitioners of reformism consider themselves the true realists because they fight only for concrete questions; they do not make "unrealizable or illusory" demands. But in reality theirs is the most utopian theory that has ever existed. Every day, life itself relentlessly contradicts the theory of class harmony and peaceful transformation. A brief look at the worldwide capitalist offensive currently underway is enough to advance the bitter irony that is the theory of the absolute value of social reforms for the working class.

Alongside the above position, which says that reforms are everything, is the other extremist position, which says that social reforms are harmful to the interests of the working class. This view is held by the anarchists. They say, "The broader and more extensive social reforms are, the more moderate the working class becomes and the more likely the bourgeoisie is to carry the working class away. Neither the shortening of the working day, nor insurance, nor the other reforms can solve the main question. Moreover, reforms are definitely not of interest to the working class. The working class must think exclusively of radical change, of social

revolution, and leave aside social reforms, which in no way, no matter how many there are, can solve the basic problem." This sums up the negative theory of the anarchists and certain anarcho-syndicalists.

The anarchists' rejection of partial victories can no more serve as a guideline for revolutionary unions than can the reformist bombast extolling reform as the be-all and end-all. Both formulations, "social reforms are everything" and "social reforms are nothing" are unacceptable. They are abstract metaphysics and do not correspond to reality. The working class must work in its struggle toward the realization of ever more comprehensive social reforms, without forgetting for a moment the ultimate larger goal, the abolition of wage slavery.

The basic question is: Can the working class take control of production through certain social reforms and by peaceful means and without violent upheavals, or is the seizure of political and economic power bound to an open and relentless class struggle, that is, a civil war? Years of experience in struggle show that there is no reason to believe that a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is possible. It shows that in order for the working class to effectively take control of the economic structure of the country, it can only speak of a revolution. But social revolution is not a rejection of social reform. Unlike the anarchists, we do not treat social reforms lightly or contemptuously, but we use them in the general struggle so that each step forward taken by the working class is consolidated and serves as a springboard in a future struggle. These tactics must serve as a starting point for the present economic struggle of the working class.

Every action, every little dispute must be explained in the light of

the general interests of the working class. Every piece of territory wrested from the bourgeoisie, every victory over the offensive of capital (unemployment insurance, etc.), every real advance must in no way halt the march of the workers' organizations, but should spur them on to move with greater determination toward the fundamental task: the overthrow of capitalism. The mistaken belief in legality is the worst evil of the trade union movement today.

Revolutionary United Front Policy of the RILU

The goal of our United Front Policy is socialism, and is the best means to achieve this goal. We are only for this unity insofar as it brings the proletariat closer to socialism. We are working towards a United Front based only on class struggle. The bourgeois trade unions not only reject the revolutionary class struggle but, on behalf of capital, constitute the greatest obstacle to the revolutionary elimination of wage slavery.

One cannot speak of the United Front without first having created a front of all revolutionary forces. And it is in this period that the RILU finds itself today. That is why the RILU is particularly focused on this initial period of construction, on the creation of a unity of all revolutionary unionists around the world as a prerequisite for the creation of a revolutionary, world proletarian united front. Without revolutionary trade union theory, there is no revolutionary trade union movement, there is no united front of the revolutionary world proletariat.

Our struggle for trade union unity is not the same struggle as imagined by the rightists and reconciliators, a struggle for "unity at any price," but it is a struggle for the revolutionary class line, for the creation of revolutionary unity against the

social-fascist splinterers and splitters of the trade unions. We must not allow any illusions to arise, even within our own ranks, on the question of conquering the trade unions. The question of conquering the trade unions is not a question of conquering the trade union apparatus. Those who raise the question of "conquering the trade union apparatus" completely fail to recognize the fascisization of the apparatus, the fascist methods of the reformist bureaucracy, which enables this apparatus to impose itself against the will of the masses of union members.

The creation of a united front raises the question of the mutual relations between the political parties and the trade unions, that question of politics and economics which has always been a stumbling block for the workers. Who should lead the revolutionary struggle as a whole, the political party or the trade unions? Those revolutionary trade unionists who oppose political parties think that the trade unions alone should and practically can make the revolution. From this they conclude that any agreement or permanent joint activities with the communist parties would be undesirable, since this would mean the subjugation of the trade union organizations to the political organizations.

Who will take over the defense of the RILU in each country? The answer is simple: the revolutionary trade unions and the sections of the Comintern (SH). No one else. There is no other force capable of doing this, and there will never be.

"Every mass action requires the utmost concentration of forces, which is possible only when the entire revolutionary energies of the working class are strained to the utmost, i.e., when all its revolutionary and communist elements are brought into play. Independent revolutionary action by the communist party and

the revolutionary red unions is foredoomed to failure and ruin. That is why unity of action, organic connection of Communist Parties and trade unions, is a necessary requisite for the successful struggle against capitalism." ('Resolutions and Decisions of the First International Congress of Revolutionary Trade and Industrial Unions'; p.34; English Edition).

Therefore, all the whining about independence, about the Comintern (SH) supposedly wanting to "subjugate" the RILU, is silly talk that only confuses the issue instead of solving the problem. The logic of the class struggle will push the backward and reformist workers to join the world revolution. And they will join all the faster, the stronger and more powerful and resistant, the front created by the organic links between the RILU and the Comintern (SH) becomes.

Chapter XI

Criticism of the old Formula: "Conquest or Smashing of the Unions"

This outdated formula has created much confusion, which has become a stumbling block in the implementation of a Bolshevik trade union policy.

*Who, then, has an interest in breaking the trade unions which the workers have created for themselves in the struggle against the capitalists? The workers themselves? Or us communists?
No!*

Who is it then? The capitalists, the fascists and social-fascists, the imperialists and social-imperialists, the bourgeoisie and all

their agencies in the workers' movement and in the communist movement!

For this, some historical facts that prove that it was not the workers and the communists who broke their unions, but the capitalists.

Who transformed the first unions of the workers into instruments of the capitalists? The reformists!

Who smashed the world trade union movement in the First World War? The warring imperialists, social democracy and its reformist trade union leaders!

Who broke the trade unions in 1933 ? The bourgeoisie, its fascists, together with the social-fascists!

Who dissolved the RILU and smashed the socialist trade unions in the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin? The bourgeoisie and its modern revisionists!

Who broke the anti-revisionist trade unions of Albania and the Hoxhaist world trade union movement? The bourgeoisie and its neo-revisionists! (Hoxhaists in words - anti-Hoxhaists in deeds!)

Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches:

Without the building of red unions, without the World Socialist Revolution, the world proletariat cannot free itself from the shackles of the capitalist unions, the world proletariat cannot prevent the inevitability of the danger of the smashing of its class unions.

Smash the reactionary unions or smash the revolutionary unions?

Hoxhaism teaches:

"The proletariat has to smash these organisms." (Hoxha: Imperialism and the Revolution'; Tirana; 1978; English Edition).

This is how we Stalinist-Hoxhaists pose the question and in no other way. The question of smashing the trade unions cannot be detached from the higher question:

Smash capitalism or smash communism?

This is the historical battlefield on which the class struggle between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie has been fought (with victories and defeats) and will continue to be fought until the final victory of world communism over world capitalism.

"Not smashing, but conquering the trade unions",

was the slogan of the First World Congress of the RILU in 1921.

This is not a slogan to be generalized, but it was tailored to the then concrete historical situation under the decisive influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the upsurge in the world communist movement.

We have to answer this question differently today than we did 100 years ago. Nor can we answer it in the same way as we did under the conditions of 100 years ago, otherwise we would be trampling on the teachings of Marxism. What was correct 100 years ago in revolutionary trade union policy, when the world

proletariat reached its first climax in its revolutionary struggle for liberation, does not automatically have to be just as correct today under the conditions of world fascism and the trade unions in its service. That would be dogmatism, that would be the exact opposite of Marxism. Under the conditions of globalization of the 21st century, revolutionary trade union policies had to undergo a fundamental Stalinist-Hoxhaist revision after 100 years. This is the only way to remain faithful to Marxism-Leninism, namely by developing Marxism-Leninism into Stalinism-Hoxhaism. Whoever wants to remain faithful to the Marxist-Leninist trade union policy must develop it further, must create the Stalinist-Hoxhaist trade union policy.

The foundation of the RILU was based on the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the establishment of the Soviet Union, on the victorious Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, on socialist trade unions, which did not have to be newly created in the Soviet Union, but were already in the majority under the influence of Bolshevism before the October Revolution. If the revolutionary workers in the unions of the capitalist states sympathized with the Soviet trade unions, it was because capitalism had been overthrown in Russia and the workers there had freed themselves from capitalism. Today, the RILU must be built without the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, without Soviet power, without the dictatorship of the proletariat. If this difference from today to then is ignored, the question of whether to conquer or smash the trade unions cannot be answered correctly on a Stalinist-Hoxhaist basis. If one can speak of it at all, the Bolsheviks were the only ones who "conquered" the trade unions. Stalin criticized the concept of the so-called "conquest of the trade unions" to the effect that one must neither equate nor confuse the correct slogan of the conquest of the millions of trade union members with the

illusory reformist-revisionist slogan of the conquest of the (imperialist) trade union apparatus. One cannot conquer imperialism, nor its trade union apparatus. One must smash the power of imperialism and its imperialist trade unions in a revolutionary way. This is the only correct, Stalinist-Hoxhaist slogan today, to solve the trade union question as a lever of the World Socialist Revolution.

The conditions of the RILU at the time of its foundation in 1921 were also different from those at the time of its dissolution in 1937. With a dissolved RILU, one can neither conquer nor smash the bourgeois trade unions.

In Albania, revolutionary trade unions emerged only after the PLA smashed the bourgeoisie and its state apparatus. Before that, there were no trade unions in Albania, as in the imperialist countries that were under the domination of the reformists and social-fascists.

The history of the trade union movement teaches us that the correct slogans of that time cannot be dogmatically applied to today's society of world capitalism. The slogan of "conquering the trade unions" is a false slogan under the capitalist conditions of today, which the RILU can no longer uphold without getting into the rut of the revisionists, who use it to stir up illusions in the working class and tie the workers to the yellow unions.

After 100 years of RILU foundation, the circumstances have changed fundamentally, the question on whether to conquer or smash the unions, has to be modified, the 100 years old template

is unsuitable. Today we revolutionary unionists cannot ignore the fact that the restraint we have exercised for 100 years in propagating the dissolution and smashing of the bourgeois unions has not brought us a single inch toward the abolition of wage slavery. The renunciation of this revolutionary slogan, the renunciation of independent red unions, has not improved the situation of the working class, but has chained it even more firmly to the system of wage slavery, has aggravated the exploitation and oppression of the working class ever more.

Our reticence on the question of breaking the bourgeois trade unions was correct then, as they existed 100 years ago. At that time, the October Revolution spread all over the globe and included the yellow unions, which split the world trade union movement. It does not automatically follow that this continues to be valid for the social-imperialist and social-fascist trade unions that exist today.

Applied to today's conditions, we must - in contrast to the 100 years ago - very well propagate the destruction of the bourgeois trade unions. Why ?

We must also remain faithful to Marxism in the trade union question, because we know:

The bourgeois state apparatus cannot simply be taken over by the working class, but must be completely smashed.

Marxism propagates the abolition of the state, but at the same time teaches that the state must remain as long as classes and consequently class struggles exist.

Class society and its state will be abolished only in communism.

Mankind can only do without the state in the classless society. Without a proletarian state in the transition period between capitalism and communism, this goal of abolishing the state and class society cannot be achieved.

When we fight for the smashing of the bourgeois state, it does not mean that the working class can renounce the creation of its own state. On the contrary, the dictatorship of the proletariat is based on the indispensable proletarian state, without which capitalism and the danger of the inevitability of its restoration cannot be eliminated.

The smashing of the bourgeois state is inseparable from the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is inseparable the construction of the proletarian state, is inseparable the creation of socialist trade unions.

Our struggle for the smashing of the agencies of capital in the camp of the working class, as well as our struggle for the smashing of the world capitalist state system as a whole, sharply and strictly distinguishes itself from the trade union theory and tactics of anarchism and syndicalism.

We are for the establishment of a Stalinist-Hoxhaist world trade union under the dictatorship of the world proletariat, for a Bolshevik world state built on the foundations of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, under the leadership of the Comintern (SH) as the highest class organization of the world proletariat. That is why the anarchists and syndicalists are fighting us.

And the bourgeois trade unions? Today they are almost merged with the bourgeois state and are the main support of the exploitative and oppressive system of capitalism in the camp of

the proletariat. They defend wage slavery and ensure the maintenance of the basic capitalist order and class reconciliation.

Thus, the working class cannot smash the bourgeois state without smashing the bourgeois unions integrated in it, as they exist today.

Whom was the RILU directed on this question 100 years ago against?

It was directed against the "left" (wrong) current to leave the old trade unions and to deliver the workers to them without protection (see the 6th chapter of Lenin's "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder). Lenin pursued the purpose with this writing,

"(...) which is aimed at applying to Western Europe whatever is universally practicable, significant and relevant in the history and the present-day tactics of Bolshevism."

"(...) The Mensheviks of the West have acquired a much firmer footing in the trade unions; there the craft-union, narrow-minded, selfish, case-hardened, covetous, and petty-bourgeois "labour aristocracy", imperialist-minded, and imperialist-corrupted, has developed into a much stronger section than in our country. That is incontestable. The struggle (...) in Western Europe is much more difficult than the struggle against our Mensheviks, who are an absolutely homogeneous social and political type. This struggle must be waged ruthlessly, and it must unfailingly be brought—as we brought it—to a point when all the incorrigible leaders of opportunism and social-

chauvinism are completely discredited and driven out of the trade unions.

"(...) We must be able to stand up to all this, agree to make any sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to various stratagems, artifices and illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges, as long as we get into the trade unions, remain in them, and carry on communist work within them at all costs." (Lenin: "Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 31; Moscow; 1966; p.47, 51-52, 55; English Edition).

There are people who twist these Leninist teachings into the opposite and use them against us. What does Lenin mean by "applying to Western Europe whatever is universally practicable, significant and relevant in the history and the present-day tactics of Bolshevism."?

Lenin teaches that the trade unions in Russia were from the beginning under the influence of the Bolsheviks and as such were naturally adopted (modified) under socialism. In contrast, the trade unions in Western Europe were increasingly under the influence of the bourgeoisie, so there could be no question of revolutionary trade unions and with them the transition to socialism. Thus, the same Bolshevik tactics as in Russia cannot be applied to reactionary trade unions under capitalism. So if one cannot take over reactionary trade unions under socialism, what should happen to them? Are they to be generously given a place in socialism according to the Maoist motto: "Let a hundred schools of thought contend"?! No! One must completely smash everything reactionary because there can be no "peaceful coexistence" between red and yellow unions, neither in capitalism nor in socialism. The power of the working class is indivisible, just like the power of the bourgeoisie. This

also applies to the trade unions. Either one is for revolutionary unions or for reactionary unions. If one is for red unions, then one must smash the yellow unions. And vice versa, if one is for the yellow unions, then one must smash the red unions. "Who-whom?" "An eye for an eye - a tooth for a tooth!" This corresponds to the law of class struggle inside and outside the unions. There is no middle ground between them. Whoever has not grasped this has not grasped Leninism, the revolutionary core in the question of the trade unions.

When the RILU fights for the destruction of the bourgeois trade unions, one must not imagine this as a one-time act, as the "big blow with the sledgehammer", but must understand this as a more or less protracted process, which begins with the work of persuasion among the union masses and a whole series of struggles against the treachery of the union leaders, is continued with independent economic struggles ("wildcat strikes," etc.), breaks through the framework of trade union legalism more and more in revolutionary actions, until it is finally overcome. The smashing of the bourgeois trade unions is preceded by a manifold process of decomposition, both objective and subjective.

Those who do not fight for the smashing of the reactionary trade unions fight for their maintenance. And whoever fights for the maintenance of reactionary unions fights for the maintenance of wage slavery. And whoever fights for the maintenance of wage slavery cannot be a revolutionary trade unionist. What does it mean to be a revolutionary? A revolutionary fights for the smashing of the exploitative order. And since the reactionary unions are part of the exploitative order, a revolutionary must logically fight for the smashing of the reactionary unions, otherwise they are not a revolutionary.

Just as the state of the capitalists cannot be made into a state of the working class, the capitalist trade union cannot be made into a fighting organization of the working class. Those who, as the revisionists and neo-revisionists do, protectively place themselves before the reactionary trade unions, thereby place themselves against us, make themselves strikebreakers, stooges of the imperialists and have no place in our trade union united front of the class struggle.

Neither the world capitalist state system nor its capitalist trade union system can be taken over by World Socialism. You cannot build world socialism with reactionary trade unions.

It is the task of every Red trade unionist to propagate the building of socialist trade unions and to fight with the RILU for their creation. And one must begin with this today under capitalism and not under socialism.

We hold on to Leninism, but in a revolutionary and not in a revisionist way. Of course, revolutionaries should work in the reactionary unions, we have never doubted this teaching of Lenin, but revolutionaries cannot work in reactionary unions without fighting for the revolution there. This is the crux of the matter. The slogan: "Into the reactionary trade unions" - has for us revolutionaries only the purpose of winning unionists for the World Socialist Revolution.

To believe that one can win the dictatorship of the proletariat without winning for it the millions of workers in the bourgeois unions is to have failed to understand Leninism and is inevitably doomed to defeat. Therefore, the task of the RILU is to win the masses of millions for the revolution, for communism, to free

them from the influence of the bourgeois unions. The world proletariat cannot establish its dictatorship without breaking the bulwark of the bourgeois unions, both from within and from without! The left trade union movement can only be strengthened by unfurling the banner of RILU, not by furling it. Any renunciation of the RILU's independence in the left trade union movement leads, sooner or later, to adaptation to the reactionary trade union movement.

The RILU fought at that time against the "left" current, which rejected the revolutionary work in the old unions. In the same way, the Comintern (SH) fights against the "left" current to do revolutionary work in the capitalist state and its institutions, in the bourgeois parties, in the fascist and social-fascist organizations, etc. Why? Because Leninism teaches revolutionaries to go wherever the masses are to be found, including the old trade unions. But does this mean at the same time to renounce the building of our own communist organizations, the Comintern, the RILU? Of course not. That was, after all, the betrayal committed by Dimitrov's Comintern with the dissolution of the RILU in 1937 and the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943. The liquidation of independent communist organizations of struggle is a counterrevolutionary act and does not serve the liberation of the proletariat, but only the maintenance of the power of the bourgeoisie. Thus, modern revisionism has led to social-fascism and its failure.

The tactics of pessimism and despair have nothing in common with the revolutionary spirit of the RILU; they testify to weak nerves and poor revolutionary judgment.

We advocate working in the unions, not to follow reformist slogans and principles, but to win the masses to our Red unions - as instruments of socialist revolution. Convince unionists of the necessity of building red unions This is the only road to victory!

Revisionist Strategies and Revolutionary Strategies

Enver Hoxha:

"The most important organizations of the masses are the trade-unions. Generally speaking, in the capitalist and revisionist countries today, these organizations serve the bourgeoisie, revisionism, to keep the proletariat and all the working masses in bondage. In his time, Engels said that the trade unions in Britain had been transformed from organizations which terrified the bourgeoisie into organizations which served capital. The trade union organizations have bound the worker with a thousand threads, with a thousand coils of the chain of enslavement, so that when the isolated worker revolts, he can easily be suppressed. The opportunist trade-union leaders work so that the revolts of the workers of one or more enterprises, who go on strike or hold demonstrations, are kept under control and assume only an economic character. The worker aristocracy works very hard to manipulate things in this direction. In the capitalist countries, this aristocracy plays a major role in eroding, suppressing, and misleading the revolt of the masses and has long become a fire brigade to quell the flames of the revolution.

"In all the capitalist countries today, the main and revisionist parties have their own trade-unions. These trade-unions, are now acting in unity and have established close collaboration in order to hold back the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, and corrupt the working class politically and morally.

"In France and Italy, for instance, the trade unions of the revisionist parties are large and powerful unions. But what do they do? They try to keep the proletariat in bondage, to lull it to sleep and, when it grows angry and rebellious, to set it on the course of negotiations with the boss class and to shut the mouths of the workers with some very small crumbs from the capitalist super profits. And what they give them is then taken back by raising prices.

"Therefore, to free itself from capitalism, it is essential for the proletariat of every country to shake off the yoke of the trade-unions dominated by the bourgeoisie and opportunists, as well as that of any kind of social-democratic and revisionist organization or party. All these organisms support the owning class in various ways and try to create the illusion that "they are a great force", that they are a brake., that -they can impose themselves on the big capitalists- allegedly in favour of the proletariat. This is nothing but a big fraud. The proletariat has to smash these organisms. But how? It must destroy them by fighting the leadership of these trade-unions, by rising against their treacherous connections with the bourgeoisie, by breaking up the "calm", the "social peace" which they want to establish, a "peace" which is disguised with the alleged revolts against the owning class which the unions engage in from time to time.

"It is possible to work to destroy these trade unions by getting into them in order to fight and erode them from within and oppose their unjust decisions and actions. This activity must involve the biggest and most powerful groups possible of workers in the factories. In every case the aim must be to achieve a steel unity of the proletariat in the fight not only against the employers but also against their agents, the trade-union bosses. The forceful exposure of all the traitor elements at the head of trade-unions, of the bourgeois degeneration of the trade-union leadership and the reformist trade-unions in general, frees the workers from many illusions they still have about this leadership and these trade-unions.

"While infiltrating the existing trade-unions, the Marxist-Leninists never descend to the trade unionist, reformist, anarcho-syndicalist, revisionist positions, which characterize the leadership of these trade-unions. They never become partners with the revisionists and the other bourgeois and opportunist parties in the leadership of trade unions Their aim is to expose the bourgeois character and reactionary role which the trade unions, in general, have today in the capitalist and revisionist countries, to undermine these organizations in order to open the way to the setting up of genuine proletarian trade-unions."

(Hoxha: 'Imperialism and the Revolution'; Tirana; 1978; English Edition).

The revolutionary strategy focuses on the overthrow of world imperialism, including all the trade unions that are in the service of world imperialism. The revisionist strategy focuses on the maintenance of world imperialism and the trade unions over which it rules, through the abuse of proletarian ideology.

Under the conditions of socialism, the revisionist strategy is to put the socialist and revolutionary unions in the service of the restoration of capitalism, in the service of social-imperialism ("socialism in words - imperialism in deeds"), and then to go over to the transformation of social-imperialism back into open imperialism.

Just as the RILU initially directed its revolutionary strategy against the reformist strategy dominated by the bourgeois-social-democratic parties of the Second International, the revolutionary union strategy was later directed against the revisionist union strategy emanating from the revisionist parties, especially under the conditions of modern revisionism in power.

Today, the revolutionary union strategy is directed against the union strategy of the neo-revisionists, whose aim is to restore the power of the revisionists over the trade unions - under the guise of "anti-revisionism". Neo-revisionism on the trade union question is the bourgeoisie's futile attempt to use carrots and sticks to persuade the revolutionary world trade union movement to resume the struggle against revisionism, to revise it piece by piece by exerting massive pressure against the RILU, and finally to force the capitulation of the anti-revisionist struggle in the trade unions.

What is the fundamental difference between the revisionist strategy and the revolutionary strategy?

All the actions and maneuvers of the revisionist unions are based on the principle of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

It is important to clarify every social conflict in the light of the revolutionary standpoint.

Is the goal of class strategy only to push back a given attack by the capitalists? Class unions always examine every question from the standpoint of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, while revisionist unions always look at everything from the standpoint of a "peaceful transition" to socialism, pandering to the reformist unions.

Revolutionary class unions aim to disarm and destroy the bourgeoisie, revisionist unions aim to reach an agreement with them. Revolutionary class unions regard the constant conflicts between wage labor and capital as an inevitable consequence of capitalist relations, which will only disappear with their elimination. Our trade union actions are directed towards the revolutionary destruction of capitalist relations; the revisionist unions use the Marxist-Leninist cloak to hide their collaboration with the bourgeois trade unions behind it.

The essence of revolutionary tactics and strategy is to always maintain the clear demarcation between the classes and never allow it to be blurred; to always emphasize Stalinist-Hoxhaist principles; and to always sharpen the contradictions with the bourgeois-revisionist forces. Revisionist tactics, on the other hand, consist in smoothing the sharp edges, plastering over the cracks, weakening and softening the class contradictions, camouflaged by "leftist" phraseology.

While we wage a hard and merciless struggle against the tendency to collaborate with the ruling classes at any cost, to constantly retreat and fear decisive action, we must also fight

resolutely against the tendency to achieve the spirit of revolutionary adventurism and the attack-at-any-cost mentality.

All available weapons are used by the bourgeoisie, from the heavy artillery of the police to the poisonous gases of revisionism. We must always know how to find the weak points on this formidable front, to push back the attack and go on the offensive, to maintain the lead, to stop at no means of struggle against the class enemy, to ruthlessly the revisionist spies and accomplices of the bourgeoisie within the working class, and to methodically exploit every mistake of the revisionist enemy persistently and calmly, advancing when possible and retreating to regroup when necessary to lead the working class to the ultimate goal, socialism.

The basic tactical differences in the labor movement boil down to the struggle against two major directions that deviate from Marxism.

These two directions are revisionism (opportunism, reformism, neo-revisionism, Maoism, Trotskyism, etc.) and anarchism (anarcho-syndicalism, anarcho-communism). These two deviations from the Marxist theory and Marxist tactics prevailing within the workers' movement can be observed in the history of the mass proletarian movement in various forms and different shades in all countries.

Neo-revisionism is that revisionism which has skinned itself from modern revisionism in order to prevent the historical transition from the stage of "socialism in one country" to the stage of socialism in every country (world socialism). This is the main reason why the neo-revisionists are fighting against the RILU....

The bourgeoisie inevitably forms in every country two systems of government, two methods of struggle for its interests and for the defense of its rule, these two methods sometimes superseding each other, sometimes intertwining with each other in various combinations. The first method is the method of violence, the method of refusing to make any concessions to the labor movement, the method of maintaining all the old and outlived institutions, the method of unyielding refusal to reform.

The second method is the method of "liberalism," of steps toward the unfolding of political rights, in the direction of reforms, concessions, etc. It is not by bad intention of individuals and not by chance that the bourgeoisie passes from one method to the other, but as a result of the radical contradictions of its own situation.

The growth of anarcho-syndicalism is generated in particular as a response to the first method, to the method of violence.

As for the second method, a part of the workers and their representatives are sometimes deceived by bogus concessions. The revisionists declare the doctrine of class struggle "obsolete" or adopt a class reconciliatory policy which in practice means turning away from class struggle. The zigzag paths of bourgeois tactics result in a strengthening of revisionism in the workers movement and not infrequently increase differences within the workers movement to the point of direct splitting.

The exposure of the revisionist forces within the revolutionary union movement, the exposure of the bourgeois unions,

especially the yellow (reformist) unions, is especially important under the globalized conditions of the sharpening class antagonisms between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie, under the conditions of the capital offensive against the working class in the sharpening world economic crises.

Criticism of the Red International of Labour Unions is Anti-Communism

We Stalinists-Hoxhaists are not the "splitters" of the world proletariat, as we are wrongly accused. We are the vanguard of the revolutionary world trade union movement to overthrow the rule of capital over the world proletariat and its trade unions. Who are the real splitters of the unions? They are those who impose a united front with the capitalists on the trade unions.

Only the smashing of the unions, which act in the interests of the capitalists, creates the basis for the revolutionary reunification of the working class and its original, very own class unions. Splitting from the capitalist unions for the purpose of overcoming the splitting carried out by the unions themselves - this is the dialectic of the revolutionary struggle against the reactionary splitting of the unions. Division for the purpose of overcoming division - this is not paradoxical or contradictory, but this is the correct application of the method of Marxist dialectics, this is the only correct tactic of the RILU.

The bourgeoisie and all its 5th columns fight us Stalinist-Hoxhaists as alleged "enemies" of the trade unions, as "enemies" of the working class, as "sectarians", as "splitters", as "left terrorists", as "troublemakers" in the factory and the trade union, etc. This is not new. Back then, when the RILU was founded, it was exposed from the beginning to the attacks and

slanders of the Amsterdam International. This has not changed significantly after 100 years. The accusations against us from the camp of the former Amsterdam International coincide with today's international trade union federations. Until the dissolution of the RILU in 1937, and then later with the victory of modern revisionism, and to the present day, it is not only the yellow union that continues to bitterly oppose the RILU, but it has been joined by the entire "left-wing" spectrum, from the anarcho-syndicalists, to Trotskyites, Maoists and neo-revisionists like the ICMLPO. All "left" elements inside and outside the unions are hostile to us Stalinist-Hoxhaists.

We would indeed be sectarians if we wanted to remodel the existing trade union movement according to doctrinaire recipes. We do not want to and do not do that. We are for a union of the revolutionary class movement and not for unions that are forced into sectarianism. We start from the trade union movement as it really exists. And we want to transform this real existing trade union movement in a revolutionary way. We want trade unions of the revolutionary class movement. And this very thing is only "sectarian" in the eyes of those who are interested in maintaining the existing unions, the bourgeoisie, the capitalists, the labor aristocracy and the intellectual petty bourgeoisie. There can be no more unity with sectarian trade unionists with the RILU than with all the bourgeois unionists.

Today's trade union movement is on the road to forging the shackles of wage slavery more tightly to capitalism and instead of removing the shackles of wage slavery forever. These are the facts from which the RILU proceeds today as it did 100 years ago.

After 100 years of the RILU, the camp of the working class has

not improved - despite or because of the bourgeois-capitalist unions. The immiseration of the working class takes place lawfully under capitalism, both absolutely and relatively (see what Lenin wrote).

Where the workers with their red unions were in power, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers' camps had not only drastically improved, but wage slavery had been abolished. Historically, socialist workers have demonstrated virtually irrefutably to workers around the world that unions under socialism were superior to unions under capitalism (including restored capitalism).

Whoever opposes the RILU, opposes red unions, also opposes socialism, opposes the dictatorship of the proletariat, makes themselves a stooge of the bourgeoisie, is a servant in the service of the bourgeois unions. We revolutionary unionists fight against such reactionary unionists, we fight for the RILU.

So what is "sectarian" about the RILU fighting for trade unions under socialism? What is "sectarian" about fighting for unions in a capitalist world for a socialist world? Nor is it "sectarian" to fight against revisionist unions, especially in countries where revisionism is in power. Revisionist unions are "socialist" in words and capitalist in deeds.

Apart from us Stalinist-Hoxhaists, there is no one in the world who follows this revolutionary path, who defends the RILU of Lenin and Stalin and rebuilds it as an indispensable organization of the Comintern. The sympathy towards the RILU consists in the fact that we are a communist trade union international which has drawn a clear line of separation with all the bourgeois unions and with all their "left" accomplices who,

while criticizing the trade unions in a "left" way, prefer to support the bourgeois unions rather than the red ones. Those who attack the RILU side with those who betray and trample on the revolutionary interests of the working class on a daily basis.

To "defend" Marxism-Leninism in words, but to fight Stalinism-Hoxhaism in deeds on the trade union question - this is the physiognomy of neo-revisionism, the most dangerous ideological current in the revolutionary world trade union movement, one of the many liquidationist currents against the red unions. Under the guise of "struggle against the reformist union leaders," behind "revolutionary" phraseology, right-wing deviations, revisionist positions on the trade union question are advocated.

In one way or another, these "critics" try to defame the revolutionary RILU line and adapt it to the line of the reformist-revisionist unions, to soften and liquidate the revolutionary trade union tactics.

Against all these liquidationist currents, against reconciliationism within the revolutionary world trade union movement, the RILU must wage a relentless, uncompromising struggle - on the firm ground of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

The revolutionary trade union movement, built on the principles of genuine proletarian democracy, at the same time presupposes strict discipline in the class struggles of the world proletariat against world capital.

Membership in the RILU obliges every red unionist to defend the RILU against all deviations from its revolutionary line and tactics.

All hostile forces that reject the independent leadership of economic struggles, that renounce the struggle against social-fascism in the trade unions and instead adopt a reconciliatory attitude, that seek to split the revolutionary world trade union movement, that want to replace the RILU with "independent, left-wing trade unions," adopt a trade-unionist (anarchist-syndicalist) path, pursue separation from the Comintern (SH), etc., all these forces have no place in the RILU and must be ruthlessly fought.

We will have practically solved the trade union question only when we have hammered the last nail into the coffin of the capitalist unions, which we want to carry to the grave instead of saving it, as our opponents do.

Chapter X

Regarding some Fighting Tasks and Forms of Struggle of the RILU

A Red Union Handbook that does not deal with at least some of the numerous tasks of struggle and forms of struggle of the RILU would be incomplete. However, this chapter offers only a small selection - partly taken from the action program adopted at the First World Congress of the RILU. This 100 year old action program cannot meet today's requirements for an up-to-date ACTION PROGRAM of the RILU. Therefore, the RILU has decided to develop a new action program.

The daily struggle is the best school for the revolution and communism.

The fundamental tasks of the revolutionary unions consist above all in winning over the masses, for without this condition no revolution will be possible. This will not be achieved by abstract agitation and propaganda, but by concrete and practical work, by a vigorous struggle for the everyday interests of the workers. We must prove ourselves the ardent defenders of the proletarian united front, not the united front of class collaboration, but that of class struggle.

Tenacity, determination, perseverance, and boundless devotion to the interests of the working masses will enable us to take our place in this daily struggle. Those who take this road will win the masses to revolution and communism, and only they will have realized in practice the spirit and letter of the program of action of the Red International of Labour Unions.

Every Enterprise - A Nucleus and Fortress of the Revolution

The working class can only triumph if it is organized in every factory and plant.

Experience has shown that the best form for such organization is the factory and plant committee or council, elected by the mass of workers. The reformists believe that only workers who belong to unions should have the right to vote for factory and plant committees, and that all other workers should not have the right to vote. The RILU program rejects this and advocates the right to vote for factory committees for all workers.

The factory and plant committees are the basis for the unions. In this way, the development of the RILU is closely linked to the creation of factory and plant committees, which are the main weapon in the revolutionary struggle.

In order for the factories to get into the hands of the workers, they must eventually arm themselves and militarily occupy and defend their factories.

Wage Struggle

Struggle against Wage Thefts

After verbal protests, negotiations begin and union leaders agree to wage cuts of 10, 15%, and more. These wage cuts and the absence of even the slightest will to fight are the hallmark of the tactics of most of today's reformist union leaders.

Wage Dumping.

A large difference between wages in the various industrialized countries cannot last long. Leveling off according to the average of the lowest wages results. Capital looks for labor at the cheapest price. If it does not find any in its own country, it orders its goods and commodities from outside the country. This shows that the theory of economic patriotism, which arose during the war and is still cultivated, is nothing but a dish cooked especially for the people. Capital is international. Its country is where there are great profits to be collected and the lowest labor costs to be spent.

The attention of the workers must be focused not on how to divide surplus value between workers and employers, not on

limiting themselves to wage raisers, but on how to free themselves from a class that lives exclusively on surplus value and on abolishing wage slavery.

The Shortening of the Working Day

One of the most important measures in the struggle against the workers is the reduction of the number of working days.

Reducing the number of working days halves the workers' standard of living and forces them to look after their material interests rather than general political questions.

[For working hours, see Comintern (SH)'s Program.]

Reduced Working Hours

In addition to full unemployment, there is also partial unemployment. There are entire companies where people only work three or four days a week, and because the workers cannot work full weeks, they naturally do not receive their full wages.

Lock-Outs

Lockouts used to be declared to reduce wages and production costs. While they still resolve the issues of wages and the working day, lockouts now serve much larger goals. Lockouts are a form of political offensive by the bourgeoisie. They are now an attempt to intimidate workers, weaken working class cohesion and save the bourgeoisie from the nightmare of an impending revolution.

Factory closures create a kind of unemployment, and therefore

all forms of struggle against unemployment are equally valid in this case. But beyond that, there are a whole range of measures that should be taken to effectively block the closure of a factory. Refute the justifications of the capitalists that the factory cannot continue to operate (set up a special commission of inquiry).

Unemployment

Stalin said:

"Usually, when speaking of the living standards of the working class, what is meant is only the standards of employed workers, and not of what is known as the reserve army of unemployed. Is such an attitude to the question of the living standards of the working class correct? I think it is not. If there is a reserve army of unemployed, whose members cannot live except by the sale of their labour power, then the unemployed must necessarily form part of the working class; and if they do form part of the working class, then their destitute condition cannot but influence the living standards of the workers engaged in production. I therefore think that when describing the living standards of the working class in capitalist countries, the condition of the reserve army of unemployed workers should also be taken into account." (Stalin: 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.'; Moscow; 1952; p.49-50; English Edition).

Unemployment is characteristic of the capitalist mode of production, so its elimination is inconceivable without the abolition of capitalism. What are governments doing now to fight unemployment? In some countries they are giving aid to

the unemployed, starting public works, taking measures to facilitate emigration; this is the utmost that even the most liberal of governments is prepared to do. It must be noted that the reformist unions look at unemployment from the same point of view.

The only remedy for unemployment is socialism. But as long as the socialist revolution has not taken place, as long as the socialist system has not been established, it is essential that the trade unions take a series of practical measures to involve the broad masses of workers in the struggle against unemployment. the unemployed must be paid by their employers, either individually or collectively, and by the state or by the committees of the respective industries. The unemployed must not be wiped off the books of the companies. Business must be forced to support them until it can provide them with work. Since unemployment has assumed such enormous proportions as to affect millions of workers, the slogan of participation of the unemployed in the production process is sure to meet with the energetic and genuine cooperation of the broad masses.

In the question of unemployment, selfish interests and class interests collide. There are a certain number of workers who are not attacked by unemployment. Skilled workers are generally in a better position, so it is difficult to involve them in the struggle for the participation of the unemployed in the production process. Moreover, some workers fear that such participation would lead to a reduction in their own wages. Revolutionary unions must put aside these conservative tendencies. The inclusion of the unemployed in the production process, their support at the expense of the company or the entire industry, must be the central point of agitation and propaganda. The fate of the unemployed depends entirely on the fate of those who

have work, and the great danger lies in a rupture between the movement of the unemployed and the labor movement in general. In this sense, the creation of special organizations for the unemployed does not always produce the desired results. It is true that these organizations are usually the most revolutionary. They are more determined and energetic than the organizations of workers who are employed because they deal exclusively with the problem of unemployment. But too often the creation of separate organizations pits the employed workers against the unemployed, and instead of enabling the workers to help in the struggle to improve the lot of the unemployed, it arouses hostility between the workers and the unemployed. The creation of such separate organizations outside the framework of the trade unions should therefore be viewed with great caution. This in no way means that we should confine ourselves to the limited actions of the conservative and reformist unions. The unemployed must constantly cooperate with the unions in their industry.

In addition to demonstrations against the bourgeois municipalities or the bourgeois state - demonstrations demanding the handing over of closed factories to the workers, the establishment of workers' control, unemployment insurance, free food for children, the reduction of rents, public works, etc. - there should be actions organized by the unemployed and the revolutionary minority, directed at the heads of the trade union bureaucracies and at the socialist municipalities. If the latter are truly socialist, they can, under certain circumstances, impose a municipal income tax on the rich, allow the unemployed to use state premises, house the unemployed in the homes of the wealthy, refuse to pay the state municipal income tax, etc.

Unemployment, high costs of living, the lowering of wages and

deterioration of the living standards of the working class are the inevitable consequences of any crisis of the capitalist system. They grow and become an immediate threat endangering the existence of the working class the closer capitalism comes to the limits of its development. And the clearer it becomes that the present economic crisis is approaching the end of the capitalist epoch, the more aggressive becomes the attack of the bourgeoisie, which is violently tearing millions of workers from their livelihood and plunging the great masses into the abyss of impoverishment and degeneration.

(2) The colossal economic crisis has hit the working class in two ways: in the high income countries it has caused unprecedented unemployment; in the low income countries, especially in the defeated countries of Central Europe, the crisis is accompanied by a catastrophic fall in the subsistence level of workers doomed to semi-starvation. In the first as in the second case, the results are equally ruinous for the proletariat.

(3) The bourgeoisie is no longer able to secure the subsistence minimum for the worker, even as the object of its exploitation. But it is fighting intensely for its continued existence.

It has mobilized all the forces of the old system to defend the sacred foundations of the bankrupt system of private property. The reformist leaders of the trade unions stand on the platform of the restoration of capitalist industries. They cannot, will not and will not lead an active struggle for the elimination of unemployment or even for the alleviation of the misery it causes.

They play the last role in the counter-revolutionary army. They adopt the fatalistic point of view of the bourgeois scholars who consider the present crisis as "normal" in the history of

capitalism, and which can be overcome by intensifying the industrial energy of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie, and with it the reformist lackeys, tries to transfer the burden of the economic consequences of the " great " war of the bourgeoisie on the shoulders of the proletariat.

(4) All this proves that any struggle for the improvement of the condition of the working class and the unemployed in the present phase of the development of capitalism must inevitably turn into the revolutionary struggle against the system of capitalism itself. Unemployment can be eliminated only with the liquidation of the capitalist system; and it is precisely the latter that the Amsterdamers are resolutely fighting. They are pushing miserable state handouts against unemployment, and they are fighting the appallingly high cost of living with the old union methods, pushing the sliding scale theory, etc. They are deliberately deceiving the working masses, weakening their class consciousness and drawing them away from active struggle.

(5) The revolutionary trade unions of all countries should make clear to the great masses the nature of the methods of the bourgeoisie and its henchmen, the Amsterdamers, and unite these masses under the slogan of a concrete struggle. These slogans are as follows:

(a) The restoration of solidarity between the workers and the unemployed; this will be possible if the workers carry out actions for the admission of all the unemployed in the industries and for the reopening of the factories that have been closed.

*(b) The struggle for unemployment benefits should be waged under the slogan "The Right to Exist." * The attempt to cut*

state benefits should be countered by the demand that these benefits be raised to the normal wage level.

The capitalist state and the exploiting classes should shoulder the burden of maintaining the unemployed.

(c) The red unions should work in full harmony with the "Unemployed Committees" in those countries where they exist. Their tasks in the old Amsterdam unions should be to organize groups of unemployed with whom they will fight together against the union bureaucracy and force it to take decisive action to improve the condition of the unemployed.

(d) The organizations of the unemployed should have an equal voice in the unions and other labor organizations.

Not a single member of a union who loses their job should be expelled from their organization because of their inability to pay their dues.

(e) On the question of the high cost of living, the struggle of the revolutionary unions should be waged under the slogan "control over articles of primary necessity," "workers control over the regulation of prices and distribution."*

(f) The Second Congress of the RILU called upon the workers of all countries to close their proletarian ranks and unite by common efforts for the overthrow of the capitalist system, which is rotten to the core. This is the only method that can liquidate the real question of unemployment and the high cost of living.

Factory Closures and Factory Occupations

One of the most effective measures in the fight against workers is the closure of factories. Factory closures often used as a means to suppress workers.

Occupation of the factory = most effective antidote. The most vulnerable point of the ruling classes. Factory occupations are the most explosive concrete example of how private property can be violated: They destroy the masses' religious belief in private property. As they become a mass movement, they express the greatest possible threat to the bourgeois regime, and the working class must under no circumstances renounce this means of struggle. Every single factory occupation must become the cause of the entire working class. The RILU must have a single goal constantly in mind: the destruction of private property once and for all. Factory occupation is the most explosive manifestation of the coming social revolution.

"We produce without profits."

The task of the revolutionary unions is to show in practice that production can continue without the employers.

The bourgeois state responds to factory occupations with savage hatred and armed resistance. For this reason, the action must be very well organized; the sale of goods stored in the company's warehouses, loans from sympathizing cooperatives using the same goods as sureties, etc.

The fundamental mistake that the trade unionists make is that they present the revolution as the occupation of workplaces, factories and mills, while completely ignoring the bourgeois state apparatus.

In a whole series of regions, the workers took over the workplaces and set about production. But at the same time, the bourgeois government continued to function with all its apparatus, its army, its police and its judiciary. The bourgeois parties and the bourgeois press also continued to exist and operate, continuing their anti-socialist propaganda and preparing all the enemies of socialism to march against the workers. Control of a workplace can be maintained only when the working class seizes political power simultaneously with economic power, when it destroys the old bourgeois institutions and replaces them with new revolutionary structures. Of all the methods of struggle of the working class, the occupation of the workplaces is the most serious. Occupation of the factories should not be undertaken unless it can be taken up and supported by workers from other factories. This support should be shown in a variety of ways, ranging from financial and material aid to the determined prevention of troop movements and disorganization of anti-working class forces. If the idea of occupying the factories is not surrounded by such a benevolent atmosphere, if the masses of workers are not moved with sufficient revolutionary zeal, the occupation can be quickly liquidated. Moreover, this can make the workers extremely embittered and destroy their self-confidence. Therefore, this method, which is of such great importance to the revolutionary struggle, should be used only when the closest examination of all the conditions of the struggle shows the possibility of perhaps not achieving complete victory, but at least holding the job for a relatively long time. To win the sympathy of the masses, the price of manufactured products must be lowered: This is the best propaganda for the expropriation of the factories. The workers must solve the problem of the management of jobs, the problem of the division of labor and the payment of labor. They have to

deal with a whole series of questions which have so far only arisen in theory, but which must be answered in practice from the first day of the occupation.

Control commissions in individual factories and in entire branches of industry nationally/internationally.

Economic Crises and the Economic Programme of the Comintern (SH)

With the economic crisis, class antagonisms intensify. From the struggle against the effects of the economic crisis, against the worsening of the living conditions of the workers, the struggle against the world capitalist system itself develops and thus takes on a political character, revolutionary class struggles occur in which the world proletariat fights for the smashing of world imperialism and for the dictatorship of the world proletariat.

The employers took advantage of the mess on the world market and the economic crisis to crush the working class in a vice-like grip. The reformist unions took on the task of propping up and consolidating capitalism, raising the hopes of the ruling classes, who launched a major offensive as soon as a favorable economic situation arose. In a period of economic crisis, when the capitalists have formed their united front, partial movements are doomed to defeat from the outset. The fact that strikes break out in isolation in different countries immediately dooms the world proletarian movement to failure. In an economic crisis, the bosses can wait, they can afford the luxury of prolonged strikes. To resist them, we must organize the participation of those workers who are most necessary for social activity. It is not a question of organizing frequent general strikes, nor is it a question of forcing frequent actions; what is essential is that the

workers of each country prepare sections of the exploited for these actions through a long, unyielding struggle. We must not wait until working conditions deteriorate in this or that category, because in times of economic crisis, a strike by workers in a particular region or industry or company cannot have a decisive meaning. In these conditions, there are certain workers whom we must bring into a protest strike; public utility workers, electricity workers, gas workers, tramway workers, railroad workers, port workers, shipping workers, etc. It is they who must be in the forefront of the struggle against the bourgeois tactics of lowering wages in order to consolidate the gains we have made.

The reformists vertically divide the working class into isolated occupational and sectoral groupings. Their corporatist sentiments are stronger than their class affiliations. This is the reason why in the most critical hours only certain categories of workers fight, while others remain idle spectators of the duel, often realizing their mistake only when the resistance of their brethren is already broken and help is possible only with enormous difficulty.

The task of the revolutionary unions is always to give a general character to the conflicts. Without always calling for a general strike, we must understand that under certain conditions it becomes an absolute necessity for a delegation of public utility workers to enter the struggle, and this is justified by the class interests of the proletariat. It follows that we must pay great attention to the workers from these branches of the national economy. We must undertake the transformation of these groups into the main instruments in the struggle, not only for basic improvements in our standard of living, but to accomplish the tasks specific to the proletariat as a class.

The isolation between different categories of workers at the national level also exists at the international level. The current conflicts go beyond national borders. The bloody conflicts between labor and capital have an international significance; we must wage the struggle on an international level. In this area, the situation is worse than in the national framework. The link between workers of the same industry in different countries is even weaker than that between workers of different industries in the same country. It is impossible to lead the international struggle against the capitalist offensive in any industry without creating revolutionary international industrial federations. These federations must take the lead in the offensive and defensive movements of workers in all industries in all countries. Yes, this problem raises great difficulties; but the question of social struggle cannot be solved from a strictly national standpoint. It must be dealt with from an international standpoint. As far as the international industrial federations are concerned, they, like all other international revolutionary organizations, are one of the most important tools in the defensive and offensive struggles of the working masses in their struggle for final emancipation.

Tax policy can be either bourgeois or proletarian. The present tax policy of all states is a bourgeois policy. The yellow unions have no tax policy and passively submit to the direct consequences of the policy imposed by the bourgeoisie.

Down with indirect taxes! The whole gamut of indirect taxes, from taxes on matches, gasoline, etc., to taxes on sugar and other products, must be met with the revolutionary and decisive resistance of the workers. Indirect taxes are the basis, the foundation of all fiscal policy. Taxes on food and on the

necessities of life are in reality a cut in wages, since they deprive the workers of part of the money they use to buy the necessities of life. It is the task of the bourgeoisie to pay for the maintenance of its own bourgeois state and not the task of the proletariat!

The taxation of trade, industry, banks and all kinds of capitalist incomes squeezed from the workers must be made the basis of proletarian taxation policy. The capitalist must pay! This is the slogan which we must unite the masses around.

The RILU fights for the implementation of a proletarian tax policy in all countries of the world. It is clear that a global proletarian tax policy will only be realized after the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie.

To achieve this global goal, the question of revolutionary tax refusal must be repeatedly put on the agenda in all countries, as Karl Marx already did in the 19th century.

The Fight against the Constant Deterioration of Working Conditions

The RILU must show the connection between raising workers' living standards and the struggle for workers' power.

The struggle for the preservation of existing conditions must go beyond the limited framework of the trade union movement. Revolutionary connection of the trade union struggle with the actions against the deterioration of the living conditions of the masses outside the trade union movement is indispensable.

Only those who raise the masses to the level of communist

consciousness in daily struggle are worthy of being called revolutionary. We must not only defend the former conditions, but constantly strive for better ones. Therefore, raising the standard of living of the masses must now be one of our practical tasks.

The world market determines prices and that in turn affects working conditions.

Revolutionary workers cannot be guided by the question of which exploiter, their own or someone else's, receives the most profits. They must always start from the fact that competition between national capitalists has always existed and will always exist and can only be eliminated by socialist revolution.

Lowering the living standards of the working masses so that national capitalism can do better on the world market is a capitalist tactic supported by the leaders of the reformist unions. The link between the reformist unions and national capitalism is so strong that as soon as there is a crisis in the world market, the leaders of the reformist unions take it upon themselves to look for ways to cut costs to meet the competition, either by increasing productivity or by other means.

Now that profits have declined somewhat, the employers are not only trying to take away these crumbs, but also to put the entire burden of the crisis on the backs of the workers. To resist this tactic, revolutionary unions must involve the broad masses in the struggle. In all unions, regardless of the composition of their leadership, the question of living standards must be raised.

The attack on wages comes from two sides simultaneously: from the capitalists on one side and from the "neutral" state (tax

policy/debt burdens) on the other. The RILU fights for the abolition of the wage tax.

Capitalism primarily exploits young workers and women as the weakest section of the working class, and begins every attack on the material position of adults by worsening the position of women and young workers.

Women in the Trade Union Struggle

In the fight against the growing crisis, certain trade union organizations are taking the path of least resistance by driving women out of the jobs they hold in industry. This division of the exploited by gender is obviously a vestige of conservatism.

In many unions there is still a dual wage policy, one for men and one for women. Men with the same qualifications as women earn higher wages, not because they produce a greater number of products, not because they are more skilled, not because they have a higher productivity rate, but simply because they are men. And women earn lower wages simply because they are women, i.e., the most backward of the exploited. As far as wage policy is concerned, workers should be classified according to the degree of their qualification. The slogan "equal pay for equal work" should be proclaimed and put into practice. In some places, the struggle to lower production costs, especially in times of crisis, takes the form of lowering the wages of the most backward categories of workers, especially women. In certain cases, especially when women are poorly organized, they are the first to fall victim to the developing crisis. Unions must take all these facts into account in their daily work, not only when the

crisis begins, but constantly. In a special resolution, the Red International of Labour Unions stressed that winning over the broad mass of working women is crucial to the social revolution. The social revolution can be achieved only when women workers have become active comrades in struggle in large numbers. For without the millions of women now working in industry, it is very difficult to win power and to maintain it.

Protection of working conditions of women and children, protection of pregnant women, of mothers, etc.

No separate organizations for women should be created. The proletariat is a single unit and, as a class, must build its organizations by industry, without regard to the sex of the working people.

The Exploitation of Children and the Youth

Also see the:

Programme of the YCI

Collective Agreements

In general, reformist leaders view contracts as the greatest conquest of the working class. Unions act as the collective sellers of workers' labor power, as interested parties in the buying and selling of workers' energy and knowledge. It took a very long struggle, spanning several decades, for unions to gain recognition and the right to contract not only for their members but also for all workers in their industry. And this is far from being the case everywhere. The long, sharp struggle to replace

individual contracts with collective contracts led union leaders to develop the following idea: contracts have an absolute value, a universal meaning, they are the key to bringing order to the anarchy of production and establishing social peace, thanks to the approval of the state.

For reformist unions, the contract is the goal. They strive to sign contracts for long periods of time because they believe that the act of signing a contract sufficiently guarantees its fulfillment. But in truth, we must view contracts as temporary truces. We must strongly resist the overestimation of treaties. We must regard them as a brief truce in the struggle between labor and capital. Never in the social struggle have employers been held back by the need to respect formal obligations. Now that the offensive is developing everywhere, we can see how the employers are succeeding in breaking contracts. Only those without any understanding of the class struggle can be lulled into believing that a signed contract can bind employers to fulfill all its provisions. Workers must view the contract in the same way as employers. The contract is essentially a tentative agreement between two adversaries, and the two sides openly state that they are willing to reach a new, more advantageous agreement when the situation is favorable. Each side respects the contract to the extent that it has no other choice. Have contracts helped the English miners or textile workers? No. Whenever the bourgeoisie has seen an opportunity to do something to better its own interests, it has done so, leaving to lawyers and bought writers the task of coming up with legal justifications for its actions. We can see the same thing in America, in France, Italy, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, and so on. Employers everywhere have the same nature. They are not metaphysicians, they are real politikers, and they do not tend to make fetishes out of contracts. There are, however, a

large number of metaphysicians among the workers, especially among their leaders. In their desire to avoid struggle at all costs, they tend to exaggerate the value of contracts. For reformists, contracts mitigate class contradictions and replace class struggle. In reality, this is both theoretically and practically false. Labor contracts are a product, a result of the class struggle. They cannot replace it, any more than a house destroyed by an earthquake can be considered the same as the earthquake itself.

Indeed, there are contracts that are narrowly corporatist and contrary to the class spirit. We can clearly find reactionary tendencies in these contracts: Refusal of work to newly qualified or foreign workers, refusal of work to female workers and limitation or reduction of their wages, etc. There are even contracts between workers and employers (they are called "alliances") that are anti-consumer. These types of contracts are the result of social peace, not class struggle.

On the one hand, there is the position that idealizes contracts, turning them into an end in themselves or a fetish, but on the other hand, there is the position that contracts are useless or even harmful. The anarchists propagate this idea and support it with all their revolutionary extremism. "Revolutionary workers must not discuss with the bosses." This is the basis for this tactic. This view of contracts is as absurd and harmful as the previous one. We do not discuss with the enemy during a war as long as we have hope to defeat him finally. If we cannot defeat him, we must make a truce with him. The same applies to the class struggle: the danger lies not in the fact that the representatives of the workers talk to the employers, but in the way they talk to them, in the nature of the agreed truce and in their behavior after the signing of the treaty. If we regard the

treaty as an end in itself, the working masses will not prepare themselves for the coming war; they will be lulled into illusions about the stability and permanence of the treaty. But if the unions regard the treaty as a temporary armed truce and fight on tirelessly, the treaty may be of use to the working class (of relative use, we admit). So the danger is neither in the discussions with the employers nor in the contracts: The question is in whose name these discussions will be held and how the unions will use the peace to prepare for the coming class war.

Mediation

Reconciliation boards, bipartite committees, arbitration boards, etc. All these legal institutions that have emerged in recent decades have one and the same goal - the peaceful resolution of disputes over wages and working conditions. The ideal of all social reformers was reconciliation boards with equal representation and a "neutral" representative of the state. These binding arbitration boards could prohibit strikes and apply the full force of the law to those who did not comply.

The so-called "neutral" representative seeks a compromise that minimizes business owners' losses, and in most cases sides with employers against workers. Creating justice "above the classes" is doomed to failure.

Labor Legislation and Labor Law

The favoritism of the capitalists to the detriment of the workers is sanctioned by the legislation of the capitalist state. Today the worker is not only faced with the arbitrariness of the capitalists in his own country, but is at the mercy of the arbitrariness of the

capitalists of all countries, the world capitalists. The worker today faces a global order of exploitation.

The Fascist and Social-Fascist Mercenaries of Capitalism

The bourgeoisie can carry out the capital offensive successfully only if it goes over to a sharp turn, to the fascisization of its methods of rule, with the help of social democracy. To the extent that the means of bourgeois democracy for oppression and exploitation are no longer sufficient, to the extent that the dictatorial and social-fascist methods of the bourgeoisie intensify, to the same extent the process of eliminating organizational democracy in the trade union movement will take place at the same time. The trade union bureaucracy will move to greater aggressiveness against the revolutionary front and to the intensified fascisization of the trade unions in general. The more the trade union apparatus grows into the state power apparatus, the more the revolutionary trade union opposition attacks this system, the more independently, actively, and energetically the revolutionary opposition sets and develops its tasks, the sharper will be the attack of social fascism against the revolutionary front.

Not a single strike of significance, not a labor struggle passes without active intervention by the bourgeoisie and its auxiliaries inside and outside the trade unions. The unions must be aware that the bourgeoisie will never hesitate to use all the forces at its disposal - police, courts and parliament - to crush the movement that threatens it. In the current conjuncture, any economic movement that has any significance poses the greatest political threat to the ruling classes; therefore, it is essential to both organizationally and ideologically prepare to oppose this

militarization. Organizational preparation means that the structures created during a strike must be able to act even if the government arrests the leaders; that the network of connections between the leading center and the masses cannot be destroyed by police attack; that strike committees must be able to publish a daily bulletin during major social conflicts; that secret agreements and deals cannot take place behind the backs of the masses, as has happened more than once; finally, that any violation of discipline by the leaders must result in their immediate expulsion from the ranks of the working class; it is also essential that the workers in the other branches of the national economy be able to intervene in the struggle at the necessary moment and exert pressure on the ruling classes and the bourgeois state.

In every country of the world there are special anti-union strike-breaking organizations to divide the trade union movement, sabotage strikes and disorganize the masses of the working class. They work directly with the police state, practicing and organizing fascist and social-fascist terror against the struggle of workers and their revolutionary leaders in the workplace and union. The basic task of fascism is to destroy the revolutionary leaders of the working class and demoralize the masses of the working class. The murder of hundreds of workers and their leaders, the destruction of workers' organizations, the burning of their buildings, the creation of parallel strike-breaking units - these are the concrete results of fascist activity. Fascism is international. World fascism prevails in the trade unions, both with legal and illegal terror. In the struggle between capital and labor, the capitalists organize first of all their economic terrorism, which they pressure and blackmail the workers and trade unions with. They have all the levers of their economic, political and ideological power in the class struggle against the

working class. All over the world, in addition to the state repressive apparatus, there are volunteers and helpers who are fighting against the coming revolution. First and foremost among these are the yellow unions.

Every strikebreaker and assassin organization that now exists throughout the world must be destroyed at all costs. Their continued existence threatens the very existence of the workers' organizations. Today, these assassin organizations play the role of strikebreakers and murderers.

The world bourgeoisie has known very well for over 100 years that in the final battle that will take place in all countries, the winner will be the one who is better organized and can act quickly and vigorously. Through their countless massacres of the past, they have learned how to break strikes and uprisings of workers. In such conflict situations between capital and labor, when strikes occur, the yellow unions are content to call off the strike prematurely, plead for a truce, and call for calm. In major social conflicts, workers must immediately form local fighting units, their own divisions, their local strike guards, which must fight vigorously against the organized employers and their strikebreakers. This is the answer that the workers' organizations must give: the creation of combat units of the strikers, of special units to fight against the sabotage of strikes, of departments to fight against the assassins of the bourgeoisie. The sabotage of such proletarian struggle organizations in factories and trade unions is exclusively due to the reformist ideology that still dominates the trade union movement in most countries. Accordingly, all means of struggle forbidden by bourgeois law are condemned. Respect for the law during struggles is the basis of the tactics of the yellow unions. Silence,

for heaven's sake! This is the slogan constantly repeated by the reformists and revisionists.

Obviously, calm is a good thing, but only if it is a disciplined calm in the course of revolutionary action. Discipline and calm are not an obstacle to revolutionary struggle, but are in fact its very foundation. In this light, every revolutionary worker, every revolutionary unionist, will always call on workers to be disciplined and calm. But what kind of calm do the reformists preach to the workers? For them, the ideal calm means a strike in which the workers remain passive. Even when the strike involves large numbers of workers - and reformists are sometimes forced to conduct large strikes - compliance with the law is still the be-all and end-all of the yellow union leaders' tactics. But the RILU does not make a fetish of legality. We must openly follow the example of the bosses who break their own laws for their profit interests and create fighting units of workers who are equally outside the law. The organization of special strike units, special self-defense units is a matter of life and death for the working class.

Organizations for Workers' Self-Defense

It is not enough to post lookouts and pickets to carry out agitation and propaganda work among the strikebreakers.

During the strike, the pickets must block both the delivery of raw materials and finished goods to the factory and the removal of manufactured goods - on an international scale at the multinationals. The employers will try to launch an offensive against the workers once they have accumulated a certain stock of manufactured goods and once they have secured the production of these goods in other factories. At these times there

is complete unity among the employers. They consider it their class duty to help each other in the struggle, and in this way they have often brought about the defeat of the workers. Whenever a conflict arises, whenever the workers stop working, fighting groups of the strikers are to be organized immediately. Their task is, on the one hand, to ensure that the strikebreakers cannot enter the factory, and on the other hand, to ensure that the factories cannot deliver their goods or serve their customers from the reserves they already have. This method of disorganizing trade, preventing the fulfillment of orders, and erecting obstacles to prevent the delivery of ordered goods quickly made a strong impression on employers. If the workers hesitate before the many laws that protect the rights of employers, their struggle will become more and more difficult. Of course, we must take advantage of all the legal possibilities, we must make the maximum effort so that no paragraph of the law, no matter how weak it is in defense of workers' rights, remains unused. But it would be a great mistake on the part of the workers to think that the law cannot be broken. All legislation in all countries of the world is based on private property and the protection of employers' interests. But social legislation has led to a partial limitation of these rights, insofar as it grants certain (limited) rights to workers. This social legislation is the result of a long and relentless struggle by the working class, and it would be sheer folly to ignore the existing rights or to regard the gains won as insignificant or unimportant.

Workers must hold firmly to the territory they have already conquered, and they must always strive to expand that territory, to win new positions. For example, if the striking workers stop the delivery of orders, they will inevitably meet with the fierce resistance of the entire state apparatus. But if the working class

conducts its struggle only according to what is permitted, it will never rise from its state of wage slavery. The workers have never been given anything but what they have conquered for themselves, often in hard and bloody struggles.

The bourgeois state apparatus is directed against any worker who dares to strike a blow against the sacred interests of the capitalists' private property. Those who fear the risks must take the stand of the reformists and sit with their arms folded and do nothing. And he who does nothing has already lost. The worker must know that even if they take the standpoint of the reformists and does not carry out illegal actions and always stays within the limits of the law, the working class still has no guarantee against illegal actions of the employers and the terror of the bourgeois state. It is always the workers and never their tormentors who are found guilty for one reason or another.

We must hit the employer where they are most vulnerable, in their wallet. Only through close solidarity between revolutionary unions of different trades can different factories, regions and countries where strikers are fighting be isolated economically. With the united action of the unions concerned, the strikers' struggle sections can play an extremely important role.

However, we must keep in mind that these units of strikers are organizations of self-defense, and that it would be extremely harmful if they were to start destroying machines and engaging in sabotage in general. For the anarchists, sabotage plays a crucial role in the struggle. But the workers are the heirs of the bourgeoisie and to destroy machines is to destroy their own wealth. The idea of destroying machines arises when sufficient solidarity has not been built among the workers. Never can individual heroes replace the heroism and creative spirit of the

masses. Revolutionary unions allow for the heroism of advanced elements of the working class, but they formulate their tactics according to the enthusiasm of the masses, their solidarity and their perseverance in struggle. Therefore, the strikers' fighting sections can play their role only insofar as they are linked to the mass organizations and function under their direct control. This is not possible in individual actions.

The crushing of the armed forces and their transfer to the side of the workers are indispensable conditions for the victory of the working class. In the great social conflicts and in the attempts of the bourgeois state to militarize one or another branch of industry, we must put great effort into this kind of action against the bourgeois state.

The Struggle against the Exclusion of Revolutionary Unionists from the Reactionary Trade Unions

While leaders of bourgeois parties, the capitalist state and other leaders under capitalism who trample on the interests of the working class are easily members of the reactionary unions, those workers who fight for their liberation from capitalism and for workers power are excluded from the union.

The exclusion of communists and red unionists aims to demoralize the revolutionary movement by separating the revolutionary leaders from the working masses. Communists, therefore, can no longer limit themselves to the forms and methods of struggle they have used in the past. The worldwide trade union movement is characterized by the isolation, persecution and exclusion of revolutionary unionists. That is

why the struggle against exclusions must be organized in a global and centralized way.

Not a single factory, not a single plant, not a single workers' assembly must be silent about the struggle against revolutionary workers, must organize the solidary struggle against excluded revolutionary unionists. The question of the exclusion of communists from the trade union movement must be put on the agenda of the entire trade union movement of all countries.

The exclusion of communists elected to union offices by their fellow unionists must not only provoke protests against the violation of the will of the electorate, but also lead to a determined and well-organized resistance. Those excluded must not be allowed to disperse and be lost to the revolutionary trade union struggle. The most important task of the RILU is to prevent the isolation of the excluded. It must unionize the expelled and make rejoining the unions the main focus of its political work. The expelled must not remain isolated and cut off from the entire opposition and from the existing independent revolutionary organizations. The expelled should immediately unite with the trade union opposition and the revolutionary organizations existing in their country to wage a common struggle against expulsion and for common action in the struggle against capitalism and against the incompatibility decisions of the trade union bureaucracy.

Practical measures for struggle can and should be worked out and modified in accordance with local conditions and circumstances. It is important that the RILU take a clear position against the split and do everything possible to stop the wave of exclusions that will continue to grow as the conflict between capital and labor intensifies. There is no universal and

definitive method to combat union exclusions. The best method must be found by considering each individual case and applied consistently.

The Comintern (SH) and the RILU cannot and will not stand idly by while revolutionary trade unionists are systematically expelled simply for being revolutionary. The international solidarity committees created by the RILU and the International of Communist Solidarity (ICS) must be actively supported by the Comintern (SH) and its sections.

To forestall the exclusion of communist workers from the trade unions, it is necessary to learn from Lenin:

We must be able to stand up (...), agree to make any sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to various stratagems, artifices and illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges, as long as we get into the trade unions, remain in them, and carry on communist work within them at all costs." (Lenin: 'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 31; Moscow; 1974; p.55; English Edition).

In accordance with Lenin's directive, the Second World Congress of the Comintern (17th of July to the 7th of August, 1920) had decided in the seventh point of its "Theses presented to the Second World Congress of the Communist International":

"7. The Communists have no fear of the largest workers' organisations which belong to no party, even when they are of a decidedly reactionary nature (yellow unions, Christian Associations, etc.)." ('Theses presented to the Second World Congress of the Communist International'; Petrograd; 1920; p.10; English Edition).

Demonstrations, Strikes, and General Strikes

Demonstrations and Rallies

At demonstrations and rallies, workers take their demands and the struggle to achieve them to the streets, they are eager to publicly demonstrate their large numbers, their power, their class consciousness and their determination.

"(...) it is time, in workers' demonstrations, to accentuate and advance to the foreground those features that tend to bring them closer to the real, open struggle for freedom." (Lenin: 'Good Demonstrations of Proletarians and Poor Arguments of Certain Intellectuals' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 8; Moscow; 1977; p.34; English Edition).

With the street, the proletariat begins to seize its power.

"Street demonstrations by workers, inevitable if only for the purpose of letting uninformed fellow-workers learn of the strike, turned into political demonstrations, with revolutionary songs and speeches. (...) The mass strike developed into a mass mobilisation of fighters for genuine liberty." (Lenin: 'The Political Strike and the Street Fighting in Moscow' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 9; Moscow; 1977; p.348; English Edition).

And Lenin outlines in a few words how the worker fights for the street and transforms it into a broad army road of liberation for all working people:

"The day will soon come when the urban workers will rise not merely to march shouting through the streets, but for the great

and final struggle; when the workers will declare as one man: 'We shall win freedom, or die in the fight!'; when the places of the hundreds who have been killed, fallen in the fight will be taken by thousands of fresh and still more resolute fighters. And the peasants, too, will then rise all over Russia and go to the aid of the urban workers, will fight to the end for the freedom of the workers and peasants. The tsar's hordes will be unable to withstand that onslaught. Victory will go to the working people, and the working class will march along the wide, spacious road to the liberation of all working people from any kind of oppression. The working class will use its freedom to fight for socialism!" (Lenin: 'To the Rural Poor' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 6; Moscow; 1977; p.427-428; English Edition).

Lenin replied to the letter of a student of St. Petersburg University on the occasion of the editorial "What is to be done?" published in Iskra as follows:

"It seems to us that the writer of the letter raises the question rather too bluntly and underestimates the significance of organised demonstrations. We have as yet done little in this important matter, and our efforts must be concentrated mainly and primarily on organisation. As long as we lack solidly united revolutionary organisations capable of mustering several detachments of picked people to direct all aspects of a demonstration, so long will failures be inevitable. Once an organisation like that takes shape and gains strength in the process of work, through a number of experiences, then it (and it alone) will be able to decide the question as to when and how it is necessary to arm, and when and how arms should be used. This organisation will also have to give serious attention to the question of raising 'the speed of mobilisation' (a very important circumstance quite rightfully emphasised by the writer of the

letter), of increasing the number of active demonstrators, training marshals for demonstrations, extending agitation among the masses, drawing 'the crowd of onlookers' "into the work," and of 'corrupting' the troops. Precisely because a step like the transition to armed street fighting is a 'tough' one and because it is 'inevitable, sooner or later,' it can and should be taken only by a strong revolutionary organisation which directly leads the movement." (Lenin: 'Concerning Demonstrations' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 6; Moscow; 1977; p.260; English Edition).

In 1903 Lenin drafted a resolution for the Second Party Congress of the RSDLP, which stated:

"The Congress considers the organisation of public demonstrations against the autocracy a highly important means of political education of the working masses. In this connection, the Congress recommends, firstly, that special efforts should be made to utilise for demonstrations such instances and circumstances when some atrocious act by the tsarist government has aroused particularly widespread indignation among the people; secondly, that efforts should be most of all directed to securing the participation of broad masses of the working class in the demonstrations and the best possible organisation of the latter, in regard to preparation for them, their efficient handling, and guidance of demonstrators' resistance to the troops and police; thirdly, that preparations for armed demonstrations should be begun, strictly observing instructions of the Central Committee in this respect." (Lenin: 'Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 6; Moscow; 1977; p.467; English Edition).

The fact that Lenin introduced the preparation of the uprising into a draft resolution on demonstrations here shows the special importance he attached to demonstrations for the uprising. The October Revolution fully confirmed this importance of demonstrations. Lenin studied the different character of demonstrations and their different forms. He distinguished several types of demonstrations, higher and lower types. He designated as the highest type those cross-country (armed) mass demonstrations that lead to open outbreaks of the revolutionary people's movement and eventually lead to armed insurrection. From the street demonstration to the armed street struggle, Lenin followed a direct line of Bolshevik tactics.

Demonstrations, then, are undoubtedly a serious science, a form of class struggle, an organized action and act of struggle, and especially in its violent, militant, illegal, etc., expression and extension. In particular, the Stalinist-Hoxhaists set themselves the task of taking the lead in spontaneous demonstrations and transforming them into political demonstrations, exploiting them for the goals of communism, in order to one day develop enough strength and ability to independently set up their own demonstrations. The question of the internationalization of demonstrations is, in the broadest sense, a question of approaching the proletarian, socialist world revolution, a form of struggle that the world proletariat as a whole can and will use in many ways in the increasing globalization. Through its globalized content, the form of struggle of the demonstration acquires a new historical globalized form, a qualitatively higher form, which will inevitably emerge in the further course of the international class struggle.

Demonstrations, rallies and actions, factory occupations up to bloody confrontations with the police and the army of the

capitalist state are not a "dumping of emotions", but the result and concrete expression of the grown political class consciousness of the working class and the rest of the exploited masses, the sharpening of the contradictions between capital and labor all over the world and the deep crisis in which world capitalism is stuck. In the centuries-long history of demonstrations as a special form of struggle, their content had changed frequently. Revolutionary demonstrations are generally banned by the class enemy, used for identification, demagogically defamed, violently broken up, counter-revolutionary demonstrations are organized against them etc. The counter-revolutionary measures against revolutionary demonstrations are as varied as they are numerous. Well known is the separation of the "good, the peaceful" from the "bad, violent" demonstrations (whereby not every violent demonstration is a revolutionary demonstration at the same time) Above all, the class enemy has always tried with more or less success to misuse demonstrations and rallies to maintain the power of bourgeois class rule, by seizing the organized leadership of these demonstrations and steering them into peaceful channels, by robbing them of their revolutionary content and trying to infiltrate them, even presenting them as "proof of tolerance" and of a "strong, functioning democracy". In short: demonstrations were and are also used as a cover, as an integral part of a functioning capitalist state of oppression and exploitation.

Demonstrations reflect the class struggle in a society as if in a mirror and "demonstrate" to us not only the forceful weight of this or that class, the participation of this or that class or the ability of classes to form alliances, their relationship to and against each other, but they are also meaningful for the measure of political maturity, for the degree of class consciousness and

independence or expression of a certain stage in which the class struggle is, how far, how sharply, how boldly the working class is prepared to stand up. It is necessary to follow and analyze the particular form and means employed by the demonstrations in their development, to draw conclusions from them in order to predict their development to a certain extent, as far as this is at all possible. If one is too weak to set up one's own demonstration, one has to figure out what is the use of participating in this or that demonstration and how to participate or not participate, how to influence or not influence the participants. These are all questions that are quite complicated to solve and require a certain amount of experience and knowledge, but cannot be discussed here in all details.

Sometimes demonstration and counter-demonstration are crassly opposed to each other and even more crass are tangible provocations, (violent) clashes of different participating groups on a demonstration, the scramble for the head of the demonstration procession, the demonstration route, the final rally and the fight for the demonstration leadership, steward service, etc., whereby this fight already takes on a more or less sharp character in the run-up to the preparation, when it is a question, for example, of which organizations participate as allies and which are excluded as opponents, how to mobilize for the demo, which calls and leaflets to write, who should be admitted as speakers, in which order the participating organizations should be placed, etc. All this requires great experience and mastery of tactical skill, persuasion, negotiation and assertiveness, etc. If one wants to organize a good demonstration, a demonstration with mass character, then the organization must thoroughly train and educate its people, they must firmly unite their ranks, one needs a good strategy and tactics in order to combine the maximum unification of all

progressive forces with the maximum firmness of principle and thereby develop the maximum strength to minimize the influence of the opponent on the demonstration. Demonstrations are a question of the struggle for the greatest possible political influence and not least a question of political power or of the continuation of this struggle by violent means - that is, up to demonstrations where the solution of the military question comes to the fore. The history of demonstrations shows how, for example, the struggle for power between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between fascists and communists, was fought out in the streets in a bloody way, where the police protected the fascists or where the fascists used the state apparatus to put down the workers' demonstrations in a bloody way, either with the police or with the military or with both; where the organization of the protection of the demonstrations of the proletariat by its party was forbidden and violently eliminated, where the freedom of demonstration of the workers is brutally suppressed as soon as the proletariat shakes at the gates of power. But the history of demonstrations also shows the ebb of the movement in the course of the parasitic process of disintegration of capitalist society, when demonstrations "slough off" and "die down" of their own accord, when the masses temporarily feel doubts about the ability of demonstrations to prevail, when the classes no longer attach sufficient attention or importance to them to assert this or that demand or to express this or that indignation, to protest against this or that grievance, scandal, and against the ever deeper encroachments on their living conditions. This does not mean that the demonstration as a form of struggle has lost its meaning, that we can renounce this form of struggle and leave it as an instrument to our class enemies, or that we cannot develop new forms of demonstrations:

"The demonstrations are an excellent thing, but only if we have no better means of action" (Engels: 'Trotz alledem!' in: 'Marx-Engels-Werke', Band 22; Berlin; 1977; p.404; Translated from German).

Surely Engels did not mean anarchist side actions with the aim of "inciting" and "rousing" the demonstrators, in order to "instill revolutionary strength into the wavering, discouraged, forces shaken by the sad outcome of many demonstrations" in this way. This is, after all, the frequently observed, characteristic means of action of anarchists at demonstrations, in order to impose their will on the demonstrators, namely to wear down the forces in a small-scale war with the police - although in principle nothing should be said against the usefulness of militant demonstrations, for example, against the use of effective, well-trained and well-equipped combat units at demonstrations. We Stalinist-Hoxhaists are by all means not opposed to violent demonstrations, but they look different from those of the anarchists. What has been said or will be said in general about the criticism of anarchist forms of struggle applies here, of course, to the anarchist forms of struggle on demonstrations: Destruction of the unbreakable link of Stalinist-Hoxhaist work with the mass of the revolutionary class. Harmfulness of the actions of the anarchists, since it has no connection with the work in the masses, for the masses and together with the masses.

"Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen individual attempts and cases of resistance, more important than a hundred organisations and 'parties' belonging only to the intelligentsia." (Lenin: 'New Events and Old Questions' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 6; Moscow; 1977; p.280; English Edition).

"(...) without the working people all bombs are power less, patently powerless." (Lenin: 'Revolutionary Adventurism' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 6; Moscow; 1977; p.189; English Edition).

The decisive power of the demonstration lies in the mass character of its movement, in the striking power of the crowd concentrated by a revolutionary organization.

"We must bear in mind that a revolutionary party is worthy of its name only when it guides [sic.] in deed the movement of a revolutionary class. We must bear in mind that any popular movement assumes an infinite variety of forms, is constantly developing new forms and discarding the old, and effecting modifications or new combinations of old and new forms. It is our duty to participate actively in this process of working out means and methods of struggle. (...) without taking it upon our selves to forecast the forms of the demonstrations, (...) When the demonstrations became consolidated, we began to call for their organisation and for the arming of the masses, and put forward the task of preparing a popular uprising. Without in the least denying violence and terrorism in principle, we demanded work for the preparation of such forms of violence as were calculated to bring about the direct participation of the masses and which guaranteed that participation.

"(...) The urge to commit terrorist acts is a passing mood. Then let the Social-Democrats close their ranks, and we shall fuse the militant organisation of revolutionaries and the mass heroism of the Russian proletariat into a single whole!" (Lenin: 'Revolutionary Adventurism' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 6; Moscow; 1977; p.192-193, 194; English Edition).

The demonstrations are only an "excellent thing" because they are a school for the masses of revolutionary (planned, disciplined and well organized by the party and not spontaneously disorganized by the anarchists) street struggle. Street struggles, which includes the study of this form of struggle and the development of counter-tactics by the demonstrators, etc., learning from the experience of the mass movement. The police have also learned from their experience. The class enemy now has its own sophisticated strategy and tactics of "internal with the external" combined counter-demonstration and abundant financial resources and all kinds of experts, which the bourgeoisie also exports to its dependent and colonized countries for the benefit of its imperialist exploitation and oppression. There, armies and police forces are now being trained and educated by police and military experts of the capitalist countries in order to put into practice the accumulated experience also against the demonstrations taking place there. This is a phenomenon of the globalization of the military strategy and tactics of the world bourgeoisie, and Marxist-Leninist military science cannot stand idly by and ignore this development, but must scientifically evaluate, assess, criticize and, above all, draw conclusions from it for its own world revolutionary class war art. Demonstrations must be understood as art of class warfare. If the class enemy here develops globalized forms of the art of fighting demonstrations, then the world proletariat, together with the oppressed peoples fighting for their freedom, must likewise develop common, globalized strategies and tactics against it. The question of mastering the demonstration as an art of class struggle has become an international question for the workers, it must not lose sight of the internationalization of demonstrations, but must

contribute to making this form of struggle more and more effectively in the future.

At the first congress of representatives of the socialist parties in Paris on July 14, 1889, where the Second International was formed, it was decided to celebrate every year May Day - the anniversary of the bloody massacre of the Chicago workers who had demanded the eight-hour day - as a day of international proletarian solidarity, as a day of struggle of the world proletariat. Engels once described May Day rallies as an army show of the fighting proletariat. Celebrations and feast days of the working class must always be political demonstrations of the strength of the working class, the determination of its international solidarity and the development of internationalist consciousness, but also a demonstration to demoralize our opponent. The demoralization of the enemy begins with the demonstrations, continues with the strikes and finally with the general strike, and passes into the armed demoralization of the class enemy. However, May Day is not only an international holiday, but it must also be linked to the concrete political class struggle in a country or in the whole world, as a demonstration against world imperialism. Above all, it must express to the reactionary violence against the demonstrating workers the united international will for revolutionary counter-violence, i.e., use Engels' concept of the "army show" of the world proletariat not only in its figurative political but also in its actual military sense.

Strikes

In this regard, we refer to the following RILU document from 1929:

Problems of Strike Strategy

"All wheels stand still when your strong arm wills it!"

"The number of working people is increasing: peasants are being ruined and flee from the countryside to the town or the factory. The landlords and factory owners are introducing machines that rob the workers of their jobs. In the cities there are increasing numbers of unemployed and in the villages there are more and more beggars; those who are hungry drive wages down lower and lower. It becomes impossible for the worker to fight against the employer by himself.

"As they see that each of them, individually, is completely powerless and that the oppression of capital threatens to crush him, the workers begin to revolt jointly against their employers. Workers' strikes begin. At first the workers often fail to realise what they are trying to achieve, lacking consciousness of the wherefore of their action; they simply smash the machines and destroy the factories. They merely want to display their wrath to the factory owners; they are trying out their joint strength in order to get out of an unbearable situation, without yet understanding why their position is so hopeless and what they should strive for." (Lenin: 'On Strikes' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 4; Moscow; 1977; p.311-313; English Edition).

Lenin wrote this in 1899, when the Russian workers' movement was still in its infancy, but when one reads this quote from Lenin today, one feels transported back to the time of the 19th century in view of the rapidly increasing, naked, insolent, capitalist, reactionary arbitrariness - the old powerlessness comes up again. In the beginning, the indignation of the workers was discharged at the machines, because they felt their

powerlessness first against the machines. "Luddism" more or less appeared everywhere at the beginning of the international workers' movement, the workers made their first experiences with this spontaneous violence . Their experiences taught the workers that the destruction of machines does not lead to victory, that it was not the machine that was the source of their sufferings but the capitalist relations of production, that it was the capitalist class itself that exploited the workers inhumanely. Today, too, the class struggle of the working class is not directed against the automation of the machines, but against the social conditions and causes that make this automation a terror of rationalization for the working class. (Later, conscious forms of struggle of the factory workers in the armaments industry developed out of the spontaneous Luddite acts, such as the tactics of acts of sabotage in war production at the time of the fascist dictatorship and the Second Imperialist World War. The Communist International and its sections at that time supported the organization of illegal acts of destruction of the "inner front" especially in the armament factories, in the arms transports to the Eastern Front, etc. These forms of struggle of the workers are still actual, for example they were used sporadically in the imperialist war of robbery against Iraq, and it was by the way also one of the first fighting slogans of the Comintern (SH) and the new RILU - Red International of Labour Unions.

Today, however, the feeling of powerlessness is not limited to the capitalists, not limited to the capitalist state and its capitalist government, not limited to international finance capital and its globalized attack on all working people throughout the world, but this powerlessness is felt by the workers especially in the face of the betrayal and stalling tactics of the trade unions, which, by means of the labor aristocracy, have transformed

themselves over time from instruments of struggle of the working class into instruments of struggle of the imperialists against the working class, from revolutionary schools of communism to schools of reformist anti-communism, and which do not shrink from using violence against revolutionary workers or members of revolutionary trade union organizations to the anti-communist violence of the imperialist state's instruments of power. It is therefore inevitable that at some point the workers' indignation will be unleashed against the imperialist union and that sooner or later there will not only be violent action against it, but that the revolutionary elimination of the imperialist unions by the workers will be only a matter of time. The working class will then quickly feel the brutal violence of the oppressors and exploiters and their lackeys and go on the counter-offensive. Already in the very first historic strikes the strikers felt the violence of the bourgeoisie and the state apparatus, the strikers and their leaders were murdered, persecuted, punished and put into prisons, so that the workers developed early forms of counter-struggle, for example they resorted to illegal struggle. We also remember the bestial violence against the workers, their physical destruction, who participated in the resistance against the fascist dictatorship. The bourgeoisie has always used - for example under Bismarck's "exceptional laws against socialists" and later under its fascist dictatorship - the method of direct violence over the workers, and also demagoguery and bribery, to weaken and destroy the workers' trade union movement. With strikes, which sometimes took forms of armed insurrection, the workers waged a fierce and bitter, bloody, and bloodless struggle from the very beginning. With trade unionism, trade unionism only, then began the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie, by which the economic forms of struggle were detached from all political and armed forms of struggle and these were excluded. Thus, the International Federation of

Trade Unions declared World War I a "political affair" which the trade unions had to "stay out of", their leaders turning out to be flaming supporters of the chauvinist and militarist ideology of their countries, who held important state posts there in order to support the imperialist war. These international union leaders set the workers of their own country with weapons against the workers of the other country, who belonged to one and the same international trade union, and as trade union leaders (!) they let the workers bleed to death on the battlefields for the profit of the capitalists.

In the economic struggle it is first of all about concessions of the capitalists and reforms, which are wrested from their government - with and without violence. It is necessary to transform these defensive struggles of the proletariat into offensive struggles in order to lead them to the fundamental abolition of drudgery here and unemployment there, which must end with the complete overthrow of the system and not only with the elimination of its grievances. All these economic struggles are training for the later decisive battles for power. If the proletariat does not go through this school of class struggle, it will not be able to learn to liberate itself. That is why these economic and social defensive struggles are so extremely important, why the proletariat must mobilize all its forces to push out and finally overcome the limits of legalism. The military struggle is therefore necessarily preceded by a period of fierce defensive struggle against the deterioration of material conditions and its transformation into political struggle. In order to be able to change the world, the proletariat must first change itself, it must consolidate its class consciousness in the class struggle, it must train itself politically and ideologically, it must appropriate Marxism-Leninism, it must form its vanguard in these struggles, it must create a party for itself in order to be

able to organize and lead the struggle, to concentrate and centralize its forces, and thus make it a maneuverable instrument. Already in these defensive struggles against the deterioration of the proletariat's living conditions, the proletariat will feel headwinds with every intensification of the forms of struggle. In 1912 Lenin wrote about a Hamburg firm that exported lumpen-proletarian strikebreakers who were armed with revolvers by the capitalists, and who also shot workers with them (see Volume 18 of Lenin's Collected Works). The workers had soundly beaten up the murderers and answered the capitalists with a 24-hour general strike, which they carried out on a different day than they had announced, in order to take the capitalists and their police by surprise and undermine their provocation of violent acts. The capitalists retaliated with a three-day lockout, the occupation of the People's House and the arrest of the workers' leaders. Opportunist social-democrats voted FOR the use of the military in the city council - what a betrayal of the Social Democratic Labor Party to the strikers! The whole thing took place in Zurich, Switzerland. At that time, strikebreaking as well as the struggle against it was still largely spontaneous. In the course of the time the capitalists organized the strikebreaking in a general staff way, as the workers also answered against it in a general staff way (erg. resolutions of the RILU). Today, strikebreaking is organized by imperialism on a world scale, and the organized world proletariat responds on a world scale, against both economic and political international strikebreaking! From the defensive, the first germinal forms of military ideas and organizations will emerge in the proletariat, it will learn the proletarian military strategy and tactics, and it will appropriate the military theory of Marxism-Leninism, which is, after all, nothing other than a generalization of the experiences of the fighting working class on all fronts of the international class struggle in its entire historical development. It is familiar

to the proletariat and is more and more consciously recognized and accepted as its own scientifically elaborated strategy and tactics.

"The strikes are the workers' war school, in which they prepare for the great struggle that can no longer be avoided" (Engels: 'Marx-Engels-Werke', Band 2,; Berlin; 1962; p.441; Translated from German).

"In no country of the world would it be possible, unless there were a revolutionary social situation, to rouse hundreds of thousands of workers to political action for the most varied reasons several times a year. But in our country this rise is taking place spontaneously, because tens of millions of the semi-proletarian and peasant population are passing on, if one can use this expression, to their vanguard a sentiment of concentrated indignation, which is surging up and overflowing." (Lenin: 'The Development of Revolutionary Strikes and Street Demonstrations' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 18; Moscow; 1978; p.472; English Edition).

Furthermore, the strike is not only a form of struggle of the working class, but also, for example, a form of struggle in the countryside as Lenin pointed out:

"If the rural poor are prepared to strike, if an agreement has long been reached about the general demands, if those demands have been explained in leaflets, or properly explained at meetings, all will stand together, and the landlord will have to yield, or at least put some curb on his greed. If the strike is unanimous and is called during the busy season, the landlord, and even the authorities with their troops, will find it hard to do any thing—time will be lost, the landlord will be threatened with

ruin, and he will soon become more tractable. (...) Similarly, the peasants will learn to stand up to the worst robbers, to be united in their demands for some measure of relief and to prepare gradually, persistently, and everywhere for the great battle for freedom. (...) will increasingly serve to open the eyes of the people, accustom them to putting up united resistance and to the idea that it is necessary to change the political order by force." (Lenin: 'To the Rural Poor' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 6; Moscow; 1977; p.427; English Edition).

It is worth mentioning here explicitly the international idea that the poor peasants and the proletariat must unite on a world scale and organize their common war against world imperialism - especially against the international imperialist agrarian monopolies. Hammer, Sickle, and Rifle - this old revolutionary flag stands today for the international unification and centralization of the armed struggle under the direct leadership of the world proletariat and its World Party for liberation from world imperialism. This is the program and the declared aim of the Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists)!

"Mass strikes in revolutionary epochs have their objective logic. They scatter hundreds of thousands and millions of sparks in all directions—and all around there is the inflammable material of extreme bitterness, the torture of unprecedented starvation, endless tyranny, shameless and cynical mockery at the 'pauper', the 'muzhik', the rank-and-file soldier." (Lenin: 'The Revolutionary Upswing' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 18; Moscow; 1978; p.108; English Edition).

"Hundreds of thousands of St. Petersburg proletarians, followed by workers throughout Russia, resorted to strikes and street demonstrations not as one of the separate classes of bourgeois

society, not with "their own" merely economic slogans, but as the leader raising aloft the banner of the revolution for the whole people, on behalf of the whole people, and with the aim of awakening and drawing into the struggle all the classes who need freedom and are capable of striving for it." (Lenin: 'The Slogans of the All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. in January 1912 and the May Day Movement' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 18; Moscow; 1978; p.112-113; English Edition).

In the 1905 revolution, the Russian proletariat used the whirlwind as a "purely proletarian weapon, i.e., the mass political strike" (Lenin: 'A Contribution to the History of the Question of the Dictatorship' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 31; Moscow; 19; p.349; English Edition) as had never been done before in the world history of bourgeois revolutions. Lenin mentioned the question of the mass political strike, which was the main question of the Jena Party Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in 1905, as a question,

"(...) is agitating the entire international Social-Democratic movement. (...) The German Social-Democrats' decision will undoubtedly exercise considerable influence on the entire international labour movement by giving support and strength to the revolutionary spirit of militant workers." (Lenin: 'The Jena Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 9; Moscow; 1977; p.290; English Edition).

And that is what we must continue to hold on to today!

In 1912, Lenin knew very well how to distinguish the political strike in the old "free, constitutional Europe" from the political strike in tsarist Russia:

"Such strikes cannot be called forth artificially, but neither can they be stopped once they have begun to involve hundreds and hundreds of thousands." (Lenin: 'The Development of Revolutionary Strikes and Street Demonstrations' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 18; Moscow; 1978; p.475-476; English Edition).

"People who endure so much to bend one single bourgeois will be able to break the power of the whole bourgeoisie." (Engels: 'The Conditions of the Working Class in England' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 4; Moscow; 1975; p.513; English Edition).

And people who endure so much to bend the power of the whole bourgeoisie of a country will also be able - to speak in the words of Engels - to break the power of the whole world bourgeoisie. "Every strike brings thoughts of socialism very forcibly to the worker's mind, thoughts of the struggle of the entire working class for emancipation from the oppression of capital." (Lenin: 'On Strikes' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 4; Moscow; 1977; p.315; English Edition). And to use Lenin's words, a strike in several countries, an internationally conducted strike against the international monopolies and corporations awakens in the world proletariat the thought of world socialism - the thought of the struggle of the proletarians of all countries for their common liberation from the yoke of world capital.

For Marx, the strikes were the clear expression of the class war raging in capitalist society, the wars between labor and capital. Marx led the demonstration that strike struggles are a lawful phenomenon peculiar to the capitalist order, that the strike movement is a product of the capitalist system, that they are a means of restraining the arbitrariness of the factory owners and securing for the workers the necessary conditions of existence.

Particularly important are the conclusions drawn from the importance of the strike as a factor that awakens the energies of the working people and welds them together for the struggle against the exploiters. Strikes are schools of proletarian class struggle. They are the best barometer of the liberation struggle of all oppressed and exploited classes. Marx saw the greatest importance of strikes in the moral and political influence they exert on the workers and their class consciousness, in the fact that they educate the workers to proletarian solidarity and help to unite and organize the workers. It is well known that the largest strikes have also been organized in the largest factories, and that it is there that not only the greatest frequency of strikes has been recorded, but also their intensity and militancy. The larger the plant, the higher the percentage of plants on strike. Downsizing, outsourcing, rationalization, etc. of establishments has no less influence on strikes in these establishments. The largest establishments also recruits the strongest armed proletarian forces, as in the Hamburg uprising of 1923, the Hamburg shipyard and dock workers. Although the smaller factories are quickly swept along at the height of the strike wave, their willingness to strike ebbs away more quickly than in the large factories, where people fight persistently and consistently with the aim of holding off the retreat of the strike wave for as long as possible.

"The masses are drawn into the movement, participate vigorously in it, value it highly and display heroism, self-sacrifice, perseverance and devotion to the great cause only if it makes for improving the economic condition of those who work. (...) As it strives to improve its living conditions, the working class also progresses morally, intellectually and politically, becomes more capable of achieving its great emancipatory

aims." (Lenin: 'Economic and Political Strikes' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 18; Moscow; 1978; p.85; English Edition).

The question of improving the living conditions of the working class is also a question of principle in combination with other manifold strike demands, especially the interweaving with political strike demands, a fundamental question of the approach of the revolution. In any case, it is a general law of Marxism-Leninism that the strengthening of the economic struggle has a decisive influence on the strengthening of the political struggle and consequently on the armed struggle of the proletariat - and vice versa. If we look at the international dimension of this law, the international upswing of the economic strike struggles of the world proletariat follows from the world economic crisis, these struggles form the basis for more and more internationalist, transnational, political strike struggles, which in the last consequence also form a basis for the development to the armed World Socialist Revolution. These connections must be dealt with much more in the agitation and propaganda of the Comintern (SH), the world proletariat must be politically enlightened and much better educated on the emergence of the conditions for the armed international struggle. This general international law is logically related to the globalization of world capitalism. It is the proletarians in the world industrial centers who will carry away the forces in the backward areas of the world. If the revolutionary movement comes to a head in the world industrial centers, which are closely linked by globalization, this movement also awakens all the other areas in the world. Other than through economic struggles, the world of labor cannot be drawn into the World Revolution. Nowadays, one can no longer speak of the independent, detached strikes in the different countries. Today we must speak of the international concatenation of the strike

movement, which is triggered by the concatenation of the world economic crisis. In this respect, one must also speak of the concatenation of political and, in the final analysis, of the international concatenation of armed struggles, if one takes the standpoint of an internationalist Marxist-Leninist today. In this entire international strike movement, bourgeois elements are increasingly repelled and non-bourgeois elements are drawn in, the class forces polarize at the poles of world bourgeoisie and world proletariat, the strike struggle assumes more and more clearly an international class character, i.e. important preconditions for the development of the World Socialist Revolution and the armed class struggle of the world proletariat. The stronger the international pressure of the strikes becomes, the more successful for all. In a strike struggle of the world proletariat forced to retreat, logically the defeats increase again. If the strike struggle of the world proletariat increases, the sympathy of the peoples with the strikers increases and vice versa.

Marx underlined that the economic struggle alone, for all its importance in uniting and educating the workers, is not enough, that the proletariat must organize itself first on a national and then on an international scale, that it is important for the working class to form its own mass political party and to develop the struggle for the conquest of political power on a national and then on an international scale.

Every strike against the capitalists leads to the bourgeoisie mobilizing against the strikers with all means at its disposal, from inflammatory propaganda in its media to the use of the police (and military) in the case of aggravated, violent and illegal strikes (for example, in the case of factory occupations, capitalist private property is "touched"). Every economic strike,

some more and others less, raises itself to a political level and, in sharpened times of crisis, partly also to violent confrontations between the classes. And vice versa: every aggravation of the political crisis entails a revolutionary upsurge not only of political but also of economic strike struggles. In their union lies not the weakness but the strength of the workers' movement. Without the close connection of economic and political strikes, a really broad, genuine mass movement is impossible; but the concrete form of this connection consists, on the one hand, in the fact that at the beginning of the movement and in the inclusion of new strata in the movement, the purely economic strike plays the dominant role, while, on the other hand, the political strike awakens and sets in motion those who are backward, generalizes, expands and raises the movement to a higher level (just as the armed struggle raises the movement to the highest level).

It is above all the economic as well as political strikes of the working class through which the broadest masses are involved in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The working class ensures that it does not stand alone in the strike. It leads the movement, which expands in breadth and depth. It is always supported in solidarity by other layers of the rightless people. By linking the economic and political struggle, every economic strike becomes the school of the political class struggle, the continuation of the economic struggle to eliminate wage slavery by political and ultimately violent means. In strike struggles the proletariat recognizes and tries its power.

In the capitalist/revisionist countries, the state as well as the capitalists recognize the legal strike for the most part, especially when it is in the hands of the imperialist/social-imperialist union leadership. Any strike that takes place without or against the

consent of these imperialist/social-imperialist unions is considered illegal by these unions themselves, as well as by the state and capitalists. When workers strike against the will of these trade union leaderships, the bourgeoisie calls it a "wildcat strike." These "wildcat strikes" are generally a higher form of struggle of the legal strike. "Wildcat strikes" are not only a manifestation of the sharpening of contradictions between capital and labor, but also between the union members on one side and the reformist/revisionist union leadership on the other. To the same extent that the reactionary trade union leaders acquire confidence among the capitalists, they lose it among the workers, and vice versa. In the "wildcat strikes" the strikers learn to organize strikes on their own, to form strike committees, to fight strikebreakers, provocateurs, etc., to conduct confrontations with the trade union apparatus and the police, etc. "Wildcat strikes" in this respect sharpen class consciousness against the reactionary character of the imperialist/social-imperialist union, awaken in them the will to create their own revolutionary counter-union organizations and to organize the struggle against the reactionary trade union leaders in the reactionary unions themselves. Globalization strengthens the number and unity of the world proletariat, while in the big and small bourgeoisie the divorce and fragmentation of interests steadily increases. If the state exerts too much pressure against "wildcat strikes," the proletariat will continue to unite and strengthen against police arbitrariness. If the police arbitrariness reacts too weakly, then the proletariat of other enterprises, other countries will encourage to organize "wildcat strikes" on their part and will show solidarity against the police arbitrariness against "wildcat strikes" of the workers abroad. Both the capitalists and their arbitrary bureaucratic rule will be careful not to provoke the proletariat unnecessarily with the police truncheon.

"It is an undoubted concession to a growing force, an abandonment by the enemy of one of his positions, which the revolutionary proletariat has practically captured already and which the more far-seeing leaders of the hostile army no longer care to defend." (Lenin: 'The Draft of a New Law on Strikes' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 6; Moscow; 1977; p.220; English Edition).

However, to be able to conquer the entire state power, or rather its lifeblood, heart and node in the centers, requires lengthy training, years of struggle testing in strikes and demonstrations, in exposing and chasing away the opportunists, the neo-revisionists, and so on. Above all, it requires the Party to achieve success. This category of forms of struggle can be called germinal forms, preparatory forms of armed forms of struggle. In this phase, the armed forms of struggle are formed only through intensification of class clashes. In this phase, they cannot yet attain their full significance, but still play a subordinate role. As such, and only as such, we want and must include them here, because from here - where else? - the course is set for armed struggle. As soon as the forms of struggle listed here exceed the legal threshold of inhibition (when the revolutionary tide replaces the ebb), they smoothly pass over into their own, independent quality of the armed forms of struggle, they step back behind them. So here we have to do with forms of struggle which the bourgeoisie tries to steer into peaceful channels with the help of the reformists and revisionists. We Stalinists-Hoxhaists, on the other hand, try to steer them into militant channels during a revolutionary upsurge of the struggles, and for this the Marxist-Leninist military theory must guide us, for this we must carry it into the working class and

anchor it there so that it can be applied by the working class, because military class consciousness cannot develop spontaneously.

"Strikes (...) should always be used to encourage the revolutionary struggle for freedom and for socialism as well."
(Lenin: 'A Letter to the Northern League' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 6; Moscow; 1977; p.168; English Edition).

The General Strike

"But one can hardly conceive of a general strike without a mass, non-party, strike committee." (Lenin: 'Organisation of the Masses and Choice of the Moment for Struggle' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 11; Moscow; 1972; p.91; English Edition).

The imperialist trade unions reject the general strike in general, but in principle they reject the political general strike against the capitalist system, which they serve to maintain. They try to fight it openly and to prevent it by all (!!!) means. Even the chairman of the National Union of Mine workers (!!) called for the counter-revolutionary armed suppression of the general strike of the English miners in May 1947, for nothing else can it mean in its call: "The government must use all [!!!] means to put down [!!!] this criminal [!!!] attack [!!!!] [exclamation marks by the editor] which endangers production." (G. Lefranc, 'Trade Unionism in the World'; Paris; 1963; p.93; Translated from German, French Edition). ***This social-imperialist, social-fascist attitude of the trade union leaders toward the general strike is based entirely on the theoretical dogmas of the Second International. On this Stalin said:***

"Third dogma: the proletariat cannot accept the method of the political general strike because it is unsound in theory (see Engels's criticism) and dangerous in practice (it may disturb the normal course of economic life in the country, it may deplete the coffers of the trade unions), and cannot serve as a substitute for parliamentary forms of struggle, which are the principal form of the class struggle of the proletariat. Very well, reply the Leninists; but, firstly, Engels did not criticise every kind of general strike. He only criticised a certain kind of general strike, namely, the economic general strike advocated by the Anarchists 2 in place of the political struggle of the proletariat. What has this to do with the method of the political general strike? Secondly, where and by whom has it ever been proved that the parliamentary form of struggle is the principle form of struggle of the proletariat? Does not the history of the revolutionary movement show that the parliamentary struggle is only a school for, and an auxiliary in, organising the extra-parliamentary struggle of the proletariat, that under capitalism the fundamental problems of the working-class movement are solved by force, by the direct struggle of the proletarian masses, their general strike, their uprising? Thirdly, who suggested that the method of the political general strike be substituted for the parliamentary struggle? Where and when have the supporters of the political general strike sought to substitute extra-parliamentary forms of struggle for parliamentary forms? Fourthly, has not the revolution in Russia shown that the political general strike is a highly important school for the proletarian revolution and an indispensable means of mobilising and organising the vast masses of the proletariat on the eve of storming the citadels of capitalism? [underlined by the editor] Why then the philistine lamentations over the disturbance of the normal course of economic life and over the coffers of the trade unions? Is it not clear that the practical experience of the

revolutionary struggle smashes this dogma of the opportunists too?" (Stalin: 'The Foundations of Leninism' in: 'Works', Volume 6; Moscow; 195; p.87-88; English Edition).

Lenin said:

"'A school of war' is, however, not war itself. When strikes are widespread among the workers, some of the workers (including some socialists) begin to believe that the working class can confine itself to strikes, strike funds, or strike associations alone; that by strikes alone the working class can achieve a considerable improvement in its conditions or even its emancipation. When they see what power there is in a united working class and even in small strikes, some think that the working class has only to organise a general strike throughout the whole country for the workers to get everything they want from the capitalists and the government. This idea was also expressed by the workers of other countries when the working-class movement was in its early stages and the workers were still very inexperienced. It is a mistaken idea. Strikes are one of the ways in which the working class struggles for its emancipation, but they are not the only way; and if the workers do not turn their attention to other means of conducting the struggle, they will slow down the growth and the successes of the working class.

"(...) Actually, it is strikes that have gradually taught the working class of all countries to struggle against the governments for workers' rights and for the rights of the people as a whole. (...) When all class-conscious workers become socialists, i.e., when they strive for this emancipation, when they unite throughout the whole country in order to spread socialism

among the workers, in order to teach the workers all the means of struggle against their enemies, when they build up a socialist workers' party that struggles for the emancipation of the people as a whole from government oppression and for the emancipation of all working people from the yoke of capital—only then will the working class become an integral part of that great movement of the workers of all countries that unites all workers and raises the red banner inscribed with the words: 'Workers of all countries, unite!'" (Lenin: 'On Strikes' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 4; Moscow; 1977; p.317-318, 319; English Edition).

In contrast to the view of the Stalinist-Hoxhaists, the anarcho-syndicalists regard the general strike as the highest form of struggle of the proletariat "with folded arms." The ultimate goal of their general strike is the overthrow of capitalism without violent, socialist revolution and without the seizure of political power by the dictatorship of the proletariat. They regard the general strike as "an expression of violence that avoids bloodshed." With this reactionary general strike tactic, the anarcho-syndicalists deny the necessity of the Communist Party, its leading role in the armed insurrection and in the dictatorship of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The general strike must grow over into the insurrection. The conquest of proletarian power - this is the Marxist-Leninist goal and the political general strike is an important means to achieve this goal. The opportunists do not understand and do not want to understand this essential difference between a peaceful demonstration strike and the general strike connected with the armed insurrection. The opportunists likewise do not understand the difference between the forms of struggle limited in the national framework and those linked in the international struggle. Peaceful solidarity actions in all countries for the

internationalist support of the revolutionary movement in one country are important, but they are completely insufficient as the only international form of struggle against the globalized counter-revolutionary opponent today, who can easily cope with the revolutionary movement in each individual country one by one, but not with a global united front of all revolutionary movements. There have been numerous examples in the history of the revolutionary workers' movement of events where workers have reached across national borders to forms of struggle that were international in character, but these are isolated examples. If one fundamentally wants to achieve a permanent internationalization of the revolutionary movement, one needs a more effective tactic, and this can only be an international tactic, which, for example, is not limited to the tactics of peaceful demonstrations or other international individual actions within the national framework, but goes beyond this and includes the combination of the most diverse international militant and armed forms of struggle, presupposes them. The proletarians of all countries cannot unite their armed struggle into a concentrated force if they do not organize it in a coordinated way beyond their national borders, combine it, link it, fuse it. The forms of struggle confined within the national framework will give way elementarily and inevitably to higher forms of struggle, will give place to international forms of struggle, will necessarily give rise to them as independent and principal forms of struggle of the world proletariat. Through what? The World Socialist Revolution breaks its way in the production of a globalized, closed and powerful counter-revolution, which forces the world proletariat to use for its defense ever more international means, ever more extreme international means, and thus to develop ever more powerful means of its international attacks on world imperialism.

The political general strike is often the link between the pre-revolutionary upsurge of the movement and the triggering of the armed insurrection. Thus it is the highest stage of the pre-revolutionary phase and at the same time the initial stage of direct revolutionary struggle, the revolutionary movement can rise from the political general strike to the armed insurrection. This is one of the reasons why social democracy and trade-union reformism have always tried to prevent a general strike from developing into an insurrection. At this juncture, weaknesses in the history of the labor movement often became apparent: These weaknesses consisted largely in the fact that the workers (and even more so their allies) did not move decisively enough, in sufficient numbers, quickly enough to offensive economic and armed political struggle, that the strikers could not overcome their fragmentation by concentrating their forces, that they could not unify their struggles into a united front. But the greatest obstacle has always been the lack of preparation in the procurement of arms, the lack of preparation of the masses for armed insurrection. And it need not be surprising that it was at this juncture, of all places, that ALL opportunist forces - "left" as well as right - became active against the working class in order to prevent this transition from the general strike to the armed insurrection in the most diverse ways.

Here is a historically striking example of how strikes, the economic struggle of the proletariat, developed into the first Russian revolution in 1905. This is also an example of how diverse the forms of struggle were in Russia at that time and how quickly they developed, how the most diverse forms of struggle replaced each other, one merged into the other, one outstripped the other, how the revolution united all forms of struggle with each other on the highest level, how the content

and form of the revolution merged into each other. When Lenin heard about the Russian Revolution of 1905, he wrote on January 10 in Geneva:

"The working class, which would seem to have stood aside for a long time from the bourgeois opposition movement, has raised its voice. With incredible speed the broad masses of the workers have caught up with their advanced comrades, the class-conscious Social-Democrats. The workers' movement in St. Petersburg these days has made gigantic strides. Economic demands are giving way to political demands. The strike is turning into a general strike and it has led to an unheard-of colossal demonstration; the prestige of the tsarist name has been ruined for good. The uprising has begun. Force against force. Street fighting is raging, barricades are being thrown up, rifles are crackling, guns are roaring. Rivers of blood are flowing, the civil war for freedom is blazing up. Moscow and the South, the Caucasus and Poland are ready to join the proletariat of St. Petersburg. The slogan of the workers has become: Death or freedom! Today and tomorrow a great deal will be decided. The situation changes with every hour. The telegraph brings breathtaking news, and all words now seem feeble in comparison with the events we are living through. Everyone must be ready to do his duty as a revolutionary and as a Social-Democrat.

"Long live the revolution!

"Long live the insurgent proletariat! (Lenin: 'Revolution in Russia' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 8; Moscow; 1977; p.71; English Edition).

Lenin taught that the bourgeoisie resorts to a tactic of confusion in the proletarian camp, to slow down the course of the swelling

struggle by propagating adherence to the previous forms of struggle in order to impede the transition to higher forms of struggle. In the race against time, the counter-revolution tries to provoke the proletariat to such forms of struggle where it can exploit its superiority. For example, calling for peaceful demonstrations and general strikes where armed insurrection has already been declared:

"Thus, the inexorable logic of the situation that has developed since December 1905 proves the subordinate significance of a strike in relation to an uprising." (Lenin: 'The Dissolution of the Duma and the Tasks of the Proletariat' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 11; Moscow; 1972; p.102; English Edition).

But regardless of both the will of the revolutionaries and the will of the counter-revolutionaries,

"(...) the acute revolutionary situation is bound to convert a demonstration into a strike, a protest into a fight, a strike into an uprising. Of course, an uprising, an armed mass struggle, can flare up only if it is actively supported by one or another section of the army. Therefore, a strike of the troops, their refusal to shoot at the people, can undoubtedly, in certain cases, lead to the victory of a merely peaceful strike. But it is scarcely necessary to prove that such cases would be but single episodes in an exceptionally successful uprising, and that there is only one way of making such episodes more frequent and likely: successful preparation for an uprising, energy and strength in the first insurgent actions, demoralisation of the troops by extremely daring attacks or by the desertion of a large section of the army, etc." (Lenin: 'The Dissolution of the Duma and the Tasks of the Proletariat' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 11; Moscow; 1972; p.121-122; English Edition).

Lenin also reckoned with the Menshevik Larin and his wrong treatment of the question of spontaneous and planned forms of struggle:

"Larin does not understand that there are two sides to the question he raises: (1) the contrast between a spontaneous struggle and a planned struggle of the same dimensions and forms, (2) the contrast between a revolutionary (in the narrow sense) period and a counter-revolutionary or "only constitutional" period. Larin's logic is atrocious. He contrasts a spontaneous political strike not to a planned political strike, but to planned participation in, let us say, the Bulygin Duma. He contrasts a spontaneous uprising not to a planned uprising, but to planned trade union activity. Consequently, his Marxist analysis is converted into a flat and philistine apotheosis [divine glorification - author's note] of counter-revolution.

"(...) He compares the spontaneous uprising of the Russians in December 1905, not with the 'planned' uprisings of the Germans in 1849 and of the French in 1871, but with the planned growth of the German trade unions. He compares the spontaneous and unsuccessful general strike of the Russians in December 1905, not with the 'planned' and unsuccessful general strike of the Belgians in 1902, but with the planned speeches of Bebel or Vandervelde in the Reichstag.

"That is why Larin fails to understand the historic progress of the mass struggle of the proletariat signalised by the strike in October 1905 and the uprising in December 1905.

"(...) But a Marxist, while utilising every field, even a reactionary one, for the fight for the revolution, does not stoop

to glorifying reaction, does not forget to fight for the best possible field of activity. Therefore, the Marxist is the first to foresee the approach of a revolutionary period, and already begins to rouse the people and to sound the tocsin while the philistines are still wrapt in the slavish slumber of loyal subjects. The Marxist is therefore the first to take the path of direct revolutionary struggle, marching straight to battle and exposing the illusions of conciliation cherished by all kinds of social and political vacillators. Therefore, the Marxist is the last to leave the path of directly revolutionary struggle, he leaves it only when all possibilities have been exhausted, when there is not a shadow of hope for a shorter way, when the basis for an appeal to prepare for mass strikes, an uprising, etc., is obviously disappearing. Therefore, a Marxist treats with contempt the innumerable renegades of the revolution who shout to him: We are more "progressive" than you, we were the first to renounce the revolution! We were the first to "submit" to the monarchist constitution!" (Lenin: 'The Crisis of Menshevism' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 11; Moscow; 1972; p.350, 351; English Edition).

"The addition of a vacillating and treacherous opposition to the actually fighting revolutionary elements does not always produce a plus, more often it proves to be a minus." (Lenin: 'The Political Crisis and the Bankruptcy of Opportunist Tactics' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 11; Moscow; 1972; p.157; English Edition).

Marx emphasized that the economic struggle alone, for all its importance in uniting and educating the workers, is not enough, that the proletariat must organize itself first on a national and then on an international scale, that it is important for the

working class to form its own political party and to develop the struggle for the conquest of political power on a national and then on an international scale. It fulfilled this task brilliantly with the creation of the First International. At this point, we cannot ignore the economic globalization of the international monopoly capital as an important factor for the emergence of a globalized economic struggle of the workers in all countries of the world; for example, the extension of strikes beyond national borders, for example, the Pasteurization of strikes, up to international strikes (erg. against international corporations). The united and unified economic struggle leads the proletarians of all countries to organize as a world proletariat, to merge all national sections into one big world army with a world proletarian class consciousness. The strength of the international workers' movement consists in the correct combination of the economic struggle with the political struggle. Thus, the revolutionary trade union movement has always opposed the imperialist wars and fascism with political resistance up to revolutionary violence, as well as the social-imperialist wars and social-fascism. The revolutionary world trade union movement has never and will never be lulled by the revisionist thesis of peaceful coexistence against the imperialist trade union movement. The anti-revisionist world trade union movement with Enver Hoxha at its head has not fatalistically watched the transformation of the socialist trade unions into tools of the restoration of capitalism, but has consistently and principledly fought the basic economic line of the revisionist unions. The workers in the revisionist countries have opposed their reactionary rape also with counter-violence, with powerful strikes and actions, have defended their dictatorship of the proletariat also with trade union forms of struggle.

The political struggle for the liberation and emancipation of the world proletariat has never stopped at the social-fascist and social-imperialist trade union houses, and could not do so at all, since the reactionary unions themselves exercised violence against their own members, or the bourgeois state power called for help every time the trade union members no longer bowed to the principles of class collaboration, opportunism, reformism and revisionism and no longer wanted to have their class struggle put into the social-fascist straitjacket of "social peace". Since the First International, the international communist union movement and the international bourgeois union movement have been waging a hundred-year class war. This war has not been decided yet, it has not been buried, but it will continue to intensify, and above all it will be reignited and spread through globalization, through the subordination of the world trade union movement to the UN and thus to American imperialism and the imperialists of the other countries. The class war in the world trade union movement will be decided on the international battlefield. And from this the Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists) and the Red Trade Union International will today draw its historical conclusions from the attitude of the Comintern and the old RILU at that time, to lead the world proletariat fully equipped onto this battlefield, onto the battlefield of the World Socialist Revolution. The bourgeois-revisionist union movement has never voluntarily subordinated itself to the communist one, or vice versa, and neither can do so, because they are irreconcilably opposed to each other, their struggle against each other bears a class antagonistic character and they are subject to the lawfulness of the class struggle. The international trade union question is "who - whom?" The military strategy and tactics of the world proletariat has never left any doubt that it will never abandon the revolutionary union movement, the revolutionary trade union organizations, the

revolting masses of members of the trade unions all over the world when world imperialism violently attacks them and tries to liquidate them or to paralyze and divide them. Any bourgeois-revisionist violence against the trade union members - whether it takes place outside or inside the trade union halls - always and lawfully generates revolutionary counter-violence of the trade union members against the bourgeois/revisionist violence. In the proletarian, socialist world revolution, in the dictatorship of the proletariat, there can be no separate roof for bourgeois/revisionist trade union houses. There is only room for the proletarian world union house and this can be built nowhere else than on the ruins of the bourgeois/revisionist world unions. To convince the masses of trade union members of the need for their own revolutionary unions and to mobilize and lead them in the struggle to smash the existing imperialist/social-imperialist union organizations throughout the world - this is the main tactic of the Red International of Labour Unions. This tactic includes and presupposes the support and involvement of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. In this way, the world proletariat puts itself in a position to collectively rouse the exploited masses throughout the world in the struggle for immediate improvements in their situation, and ultimately to be able to call upon them as a reserve for the world proletarian revolution. Through the revolutionary world trade union movement, proletarian internationalism is transformed to a qualitatively higher stage and thereby acquires a hitherto unimagined power for the revolutionary upheaval of the entire old imperialist world order. Asia, Africa and Latin America today form the weakest links in the imperialist/social-imperialist world union system, and it is there that the contradictions between labor and capital are being hit by the colonialism of the imperialists and often combined with the increasing brutal exploitation and oppression by their own bourgeoisie in the

dependent countries. The revolutionary union struggle on these continents is not only an important part of the national and social liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, but also at the same time a powerful support for the workers and peoples all over the world. Due to globalization, the young workers' movement on these continents is developing more rapidly than ever before, although differently in different regions. The trade union struggle, which developed there from the struggle against the colonialism of foreign imperialist bourgeoisie and against their economic, political and military power, and which was and in part still is closely linked to the revolutionary national liberation movement, is now taking on more and more independent forms against its own bourgeoisie due to the economic development of the country and the associated strengthening of the proletariat. The imperialist/social imperialist character of the trade unions in the metropolises of the capitalist countries shows its open grimace especially in not supporting the trade union movement on these continents, which is even partly exposed to the most brutal military terror and the violence of the reaction in its own country (possibly in words as a fig leaf function, but not in deeds in any case!). On the contrary! The imperialist/social-imperialist unions have no interest in proletarian internationalism, but in fighting it, especially in fighting revolutionary developments within the trade union movement of these countries, taking the side of imperialist violence and not shying away from violence themselves. At the same time, the imperialist/social-imperialist unions prevent or impede the efforts of progressive unionists who seek to support, cooperate and intertwine international union solidarity. Whoever as a communist unionist openly supports proletarian internationalism in the sense of the Proletarian World Revolution within the imperialist/social-

imperialist trade union is exposed to blind hatred and terror by the social-fascist union leadership and is "buried alive".

We acquainted the masses of the working people with the 'sextet' of political liberties (freedom of speech, conscience, the press, assembly, association, and the right to strike). We must now repeat millions and billions of times the 'trio' of immediate revolutionary tasks (an armed uprising, a revolutionary army, and a provisional revolutionary government)." (Lenin: 'In the Wake of the Monarchist Bourgeoisie, or In the Van of the Revolutionary Proletariat and Peasantry?' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 9; Moscow; 1977; p.222; English Edition).

"Where strikes grow, the uprising grows too." (Lenin: 'Revolts in the Army and Navy' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 18; Moscow; 1978; p.235; English Edition).

The Role of Violence in the Trade Union

The chiefs of the bourgeois reformist and revisionist unions, the trade unions in the hands of the imperialists and social-imperialists, portray us Marxist-Leninists as "enemies of trade unions", as "hotheads" and "rioters", "left-wing extremist perpetrators of violence", "enemies of democracy", "enemies of socialism", etc., who get "carried away" by mass movements and are "against trade unions", consider them "useless and unnecessary", or just want to harness them to their communist "cart". Of course, we are not against trade unions, we are even very much for trade unions, but for red unions, which replace the reformist and revisionist slogans with revolutionary slogans, and which organize the revolutionary workers in their class struggle and do not hinder them as the yellow unions do. This is the reason why we are not only waging an irreconcilable

struggle against the yellow unions, but also an irreconcilable struggle for revolutionary unions. But even the best trade union alone, trade unionism only, (anarcho-)syndicalism can NOT eliminate wage slavery. The elimination of wage slavery, the real life improvements of the workers, the future perspective of the trade union in socialism (the capitalist trade union has no future, because as part of the whole capitalism it inevitably perishes with it!) None of this is secured without the leadership of the Party, which embodies the highest form of organization of the proletarian class struggle. In the struggle for socialist revolution the trade union is subordinated to the Party, it is only one part, though one of the most important. In any case, only the Party and not the trade union can lead the armed struggle in the last consequence, without which the political system of wage slavery will not be abolished. It is the fascist or social-fascist union that exercises or serves the reactionary violence to maintain capitalism and it is the revolutionary union that answers the reactionary violence with revolutionary violence or serves it to reconquer socialism. This is the Marxist-Leninist answer to the present question of the union and the role of violence.

One of the indicators of the revolutionary or reactionary character of a trade union is its attitude in the armed struggle in class society in this world, that it sides with reactionary violence and against revolutionary violence. Unions are class unions, so they serve either the imperialists/social imperialists or the workers, siding with either capital or labor in the class struggle, both on a national scale and on a world scale. Behind the so-called "non-partisanship", "neutrality and passivity towards the armed conflicts in the world", behind trade union pacifism, defeatism, behind the "peaceful coexistence" between antagonistic contradictions in the question of violence, behind

the thesis that trade unions are above the classes and above their armed struggle, means nothing but maintaining the "status quo", supporting the existing class rule of imperialism/social-imperialism and thus giving a free hand to counter-revolutionary armed force, immobilizing the working class on the "internal front" so that it does not independently oppose imperialist/social-imperialist arms on the international theater of war with revolutionary arms and responds to imperialist/social-imperialist war with revolutionary war. The reformist unions have always sided directly or indirectly with the imperialists, whether in peacetime or in wartime. Today they support the global predatory wars of the great imperialist powers to increase the profits of the capitalists. They defend the imperialist world order with and without violence. They undermine the unity of the world proletariat, all their actions are aimed at dividing the workers of the different nations, deepening wage slavery in the oppressed countries and dividing the workers into different categories, extending and consolidating the rule of the labor aristocracy over the mass of workers globally with and without violence. The theory of the "neutrality" of the trade unions is a mendacious theory of the bourgeoisie, which disarms the trade union class struggle of the proletariat even on a world scale, but instead justifies and consolidates the influence of the bourgeoisie on the proletariat: Lenin said this about trade union neutrality:

"(...) in the forefront unity of the workers for the improvement of their conditions, and not unity for a struggle that could promote the cause of proletarian emancipation." (Lenin: 'Trade-Union Neutrality' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 13; Moscow; 1978; p.468; English Edition).

"The class interests of the bourgeoisie inevitably give rise to a striving to confine the unions to petty and narrow activity within the framework of the existing social order, to keep them away from any contact with socialism; and the neutrality theory is the ideological cover for these striving of the bourgeoisie. In one way or another, the revisionists within the S.D. parties will always clear a way for themselves in capitalist society." (ibid; p.466).

[and we must add today as a historical lesson: even the revisionists understood this in the socialist society!].
Bourgeois/revisionist unions forge the chains of the proletariat ever tighter to capital. Proletarian unions serve to break these bourgeois/revisionist union chains and liberate the working class from capitalism. The world proletariat cannot free itself from the chains of world capitalism today without breaking all the chains of bourgeois/revisionist unions all over the world!
Our internationalist, revolutionary slogan is: creation of a world socialist union system on the ruins of the international, world imperialist union system still existing today. The world bourgeoisie will offer organized resistance by force, which must be broken by revolutionary force. So, for this purpose, the world proletariat not only needs an independent Red International of Labour Unions, but above all a Communist International to smash the world imperialist union system by force.

There can be no free trade unions today under capitalism. Whoever wants to fight today for free trade unions, free from the influence of capital, must fight for the overthrow of capitalism and for the smashing of its yellow unions.

Freedom and independence of the union must not be confused with non-partisanship of the union. The trade union must not

only be partisan for the working class in a broader sense, but from the Marxist-Leninist point of view it must also be as close as possible to the communist party, must serve it. A trade union can only be a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie or in the hands of the proletariat. If the bourgeoisie has rendered this weapon useless, or if it commands this weapon against the proletariat, then the proletariat must turn over the union weapons, seize the union weapons, it must forge its own, a new weapon, to smash the reactionary union apparatus which has left it defenseless against capital. If the reformists and the revisionists triumph in a trade union, selling the interests of the working class to capital before the struggle against capital has begun or after this struggle has ended victoriously with the socialist revolution, then the reformists and revisionists must be sent packing!

According to Lenin

"In Germany, as in Russia and indeed everywhere, a narrow trade-unionism, or Economism, is linking up with opportunism (revisionism)." (Lenin: 'The Jena Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 9; Moscow; 1978; p.293; English Edition).

And Bebel warned about the "guildish idiocy" of the trade unions:

"'Comrades, be on your guard, think of what you are doing; you are traveling a fatal path, which in the end will lead to your doom.'" (Bebel, as Quoted by Lenin: ibid; p.294).

The revisionist union leaders adopt a two-faced attitude toward the national liberation struggles. In order to save face and not

get into opposition with the peoples fighting against imperialism, social-imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, they support these struggles in words for demagogic reasons, but sabotage them in deeds. Imperialist and social-imperialist unions have always made common cause against the armed liberation struggles, are still doing so today and must continue to do so in the future in accordance with their imperialist nature - sometimes more and sometimes less under the guise of solidarity and support for the armed struggles of the oppressed peoples. The yellow union international forms a unity against all efforts of the world proletariat to overcome its division by the world bourgeoisie through its own revolutionary union organizations, forms an anti-communist unity against the revolutionary union policy of the Marxist-Leninist world movement. The Albanian trade union federation at the time of Comrade Enver Hoxha waged an exemplary struggle against this, as did the revolutionary trade union organizations and groups linked to the Trade Unions of Albania throughout the world. Lessons must be learned from this, this struggle must be continued, will get new revolutionary international content. One more reason for the necessary appearance of the revolutionary trade union international on this international field of struggle, upholding the old fighting tradition of the revolutionary union and breathing new life into it. The world proletariat will become more and more united in the trade union struggle against its enemies, and this is a key problem of the World Socialist Revolution, a key problem of the unification of the proletarian forces in the international armed class struggle. Marxist-Leninist military science is thus also concerned with the support of the armed class struggle by the revolutionary unions and likewise with the counterrevolutionary role of union pacifism as a tactic of imperialist warfare. Marxist-Leninist military science has to oppose this imperialist/social-imperialist war tactic,

considers the trade union members as a necessary and important reserve of proletarian warfare in the anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist class struggle, both on the national and international level and the combination of these two levels.

Karl Marx said:

"Thirdly. Trades Unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. [underlined by the editor] They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerrilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class that is to say the ultimate abolition of the wages system." (Marx: 'Value, Price and Profit' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 20; Moscow; 1985; p.149; English Edition).

From the military point of view it is clear that the workers can free themselves from their wage slavery only by revolutionary violence, only under the leadership of the Party through the armed revolution, and that wage slavery can be abolished only through socialism - and its defense at gunpoint [how the relationship between the party and the trade union is determined from the Stalinist-Hoxhaist point of view and on what foundations the Party's union policy rests is assumed to be known-here only the aspect of violence is considered, which of course cannot be the only aspect). It is an irrefutable fundamental principle of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist union struggle that it is a real school for Socialist Revolution only if, as class clashes intensify, it is transformed into a school of the armed struggle of the proletariat to overthrow world capitalist domination. How else than by the means of violence is reformist

union legalism to be broken through? And if it is not broken, then the demands of the trade union members will also only be enforced as far as trade union legalism allows them; every trade union member gets to feel what this means every day. The point is that union members have no choice but to break union legalism, because it is an existential question for them, a legal, foreseeable necessity that does not depend on the will of the union members themselves, but is made inevitable by capitalism at a certain stage of development. Certainly, we are absolutely obliged to revolutionary exploitation of trade union legalism, especially in times of slackness - but just not at any price! Whoever can only pay lip service to the necessity of breaking through union legalism, but is too cowardly to follow up words with revolutionary deeds, cuts a pitiful figure in the trade union struggle, because the daily struggle "labor against capital" is one of the most nerve-racking, strength-sapping, difficult and toughest. It requires a lot of skill and tact, stamina in the face of provocations, harassment, denunciations, warnings, labor lawsuits, etc., mastery of all possible forms and tactics of struggle, toughness in the face of the class enemy [not to be confused with adventurism and blind actions], but also, at the same time, collegial example, great empathy, educational ability, the ability to inspire confidence, persuasiveness and great responsibility toward colleagues. In short, the ability to organize class solidarity and hearus form class consciousness. And then, when union legalism is broken in an organized way, this poses enormous challenges for a revolutionary worker. Mind you, there is also a misunderstood breaking of trade union legalism, when this form of struggle exhausts and wears itself out in small-scale warfare, in a cat-and-mouse game with the employers, the state and the reactionary union apparatus, which sooner or later ends in a demoralizing defeat; when the real goal is sacrificed for tactical sham victories, to forge the lever for the

eventual liberation of the working class: Breaking through union legalism is an indispensable form of struggle for learning the war craft of proletarian revolution and nothing else!

Breaking through reformist union legalism is thus the applied violent form of revolutionary union struggle (and this form of struggle, mind you, is far from being the only form of revolutionary union struggle, not a panacea for all situations!), and only through this can revolutionary union struggle prove to be a school of breaking through state legalism, a school of insurrection and overthrow of the bourgeois state. And finally:

By breaking through the national barriers of union legalism, the Red International of Labour Unions makes the trade union the school of the World Proletarian Revolution, just as international finance capital must in turn lawfully break through the national barriers of union legalism. International finance capital doesn't give a damn about the trade unions in the individual countries, boots them out and doesn't give a damn about international trade union conventions, which are not worth the paper they are written on anyway. International finance capital has now declared a total, global war on the entire world of labor, on all the world's workers, viewing them even more ruthlessly as its private "big world turf," where national union fences are no longer allowed to impede its free field of fire. And union legalism? It legalizes its own breakthrough and has nothing better to do than shed crocodile tears over it. Powerless capitulation, neutral trade union globalism, passivity - this is the hypocritical imperialist union mask. In reality, however, it conceals the centralized organization of the world union aristocracy in order to actively help the finance-capitalist big world hunters behind closed doors to drive the hunted back through the back door in order to have them hunted down all the more easily like sheep to the slaughter. The hunting fever,

which drives these finance-capitalistic big world hunters unrestrainedly over the globe, is maximum profit. They blindly exterminate their hunting game, the world proletariat, and thus ensure themselves for the extinction of their own species and thus for the extinction of their union-aristocratic hunting helpers. Thus hunters become hunted, union hunting helpers become anti-union escape helpers of the hunted finance capital.

What is the aim of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist union policy in the capitalist countries today? The goal of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist union policy is not exhausted in breaking through union legalism, is not the defensive struggle, but its transformation into the counter-offensive, which finally ends with the revolutionary elimination of the imperialist/social-imperialist union of the bourgeoisie itself, whereby finally the proletarian union, its traditional anti-capitalist revolutionary spirit can be fully liberated and recaptured, thus the creation of a new class-struggle union as one of the most important instruments of the Bolshevik Party for the conquest of the political power of the proletariat, as an instrument of socialist revolution - on a world scale, the international red union as an instrument of the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution. Without revolution, the abolition of the yellow unions and the establishment of revolutionary unions is hardly possible today because of the capitalist power relations. The revolutionary unionists cannot conquer the trade union without violently smashing its reactionary, capitalist rule. But they can and must conquer the mass of union members, without whom there can be no Marxist-Leninist union.

There is an antagonistic opposition between the imperialist/social-imperialist and the proletarian union, which can be eliminated only by revolutionary force through the

elimination of the imperialist/social-imperialist union and the establishment of the proletarian union as one of the most important instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But where is the proletarian union to come from? It can only be born from the womb of the rotting, parasitic and dying imperialist/social-imperialist union, with revolutionary violence as its obstetrician. Who is to create the proletarian trade union? Only the masses of millions of unionists themselves can do that. But the unionists cannot simply take over the imperialist union apparatus peacefully by voting out the union bosses, "by majority vote," etc., since it has become an inseparable part of the power apparatus of the whole capitalist system, has grown with it to a certain degree. Our forms of struggle must take into account precisely this degree of being grown together and be combined with those appropriate forms of struggle which correspond to the degree of not yet being grown together. The contradictions between the yellow union and the capitalist system must be properly exploited in order to soften, weaken, etc., to a certain degree the closing of ranks between capital-state and the capitalist/revisionist union. But the whole aim of conquering the union must be directed to and conceived as the aim of conquering the whole political power of the proletariat as its subordinate part and not detached from it. On the exclusive way of the conquest of the union, without the Party - as propagated by the syndicalists - the working class today does not come to political power, does not come to socialism. So the proletariat cannot conquer power in the union today without conquering its political power over the bourgeoisie. There can be no freedom to strike as long as there is no political freedom. After all, the bourgeoisie does not stand idly by when the imperialist/social-imperialist union is attacked and eliminated, to be replaced by a proletarian union, but prevents this by using violent means of the whole capitalist apparatus of oppression, if

it cannot prevent this in any other way. We know from thousands of historical examples that one must warn against acts of violence provoked by the police and by stool pigeons in the unions. One must warn against such provoked acts of violence. But should one warn against violent acts of struggle by the workers when there is seething among the masses? Should one warn against mass demonstrations? Should we prevent the masses from breaking union legalism when the union members are forced to do so in view of their desperate situation? Should we renounce violent means of trade union struggle only because it might be a provocation of the class enemy? It is only with the systematically prepared breaking through of union legalism, in which any provocation of the class enemy is overcome and rendered harmless, that the higher stage of the revolutionary union movement is reached.

Today, within the legal framework of capitalism, one cannot abolish the imperialist/social-imperialist union and put a proletarian union in its place. One must therefore smash the capitalist/revisionist system itself in order to forever eliminate the inevitability of capitalist/revisionist unions. To first do this, the creation of the Communist International is necessary, which in turn works towards the creation of the Red International of Labour Unions, which supports progressive unionists in their struggle against the imperialist/social-imperialist union, organizes, centralizes, leads this struggle and influences the formation of new organizational forms of revolutionary union opposition, through which rallying points of resistance against the violence of the imperialist/social-imperialist union apparatus are created, are formed as reserves of the socialist revolution - on the trade union class front. Conquest of the unions means on the one hand the use of violence against the social-fascist, union power apparatus of the bourgeoisie, the use of violence against

the labor aristocracy (= irreconcilable class enemy of the proletariat!) and at the same time the conquest of the millions of union members for communism, for the communist party, for red unions through the solidary force of our conviction, which consists in helping the masses through our exemplary daily class-struggle (and also necessarily illegal, violent, etc.) union work to help convince themselves from their own experience of the necessity of revolutionary violence in union work, of the necessity of the revolutionary elimination of the yellow unions and the creation of red unions. With this trade union tactic, the party lays down the line of trade union action for the relatively short period of the tide and ebb of the trade union movement, the rise and fall of the revolutionary movement of labor against capital. It is the struggle for the implementation of the revolutionary union line by means of replacing the old forms of struggle and organization with new ones, the old slogans with new ones, by means of combining these forms, and so on. And for this precise reason, this revolutionary view of the Party's union tactics must also be carried into the trade union movement. However, can the military forms of struggle replace the trade union forms of struggle? No, they can be used mainly only as a continuation of the union struggle with violent means, with means of revolutionary breaking through bourgeois union legalism especially in a revolutionary situation. The trade union struggle is not replaced or even abolished by the insurrection, by the revolution, by the dictatorship of the proletariat, by socialism, but only its forms of struggle are adapted, raised to a higher level, to the corresponding changes and conditions of the revolution and thus to achieve the communist goals. The proletarian unions, are before (then still as germ forms, as the RGO, etc.), during and after the revolution, under socialism until the transition to communism, indispensable for the emancipation of the working class, and thus for the creation of

the classless society - and must therefore necessarily be defended by force against the violent resistance of the bourgeoisie and its labor aristocracy (which has already begun before the revolution!), and that as long and as strongly as this reactionary violence continues.

So, when the civil war is ended by the victory of the revolution, when it comes to building the socialist economy, the methods of struggle also change, one must not transfer the methods that were necessary militarily to the trade unions. Trotsky made this mistake. And Stalin was quite right to criticize this:

"The mistake Trotsky makes is that he underrates the difference between the army and the working class, he puts the trade unions on a par with the military organizations, and tries, evidently by inertia, to transfer military methods from the army into the trade unions, into the working class. Trotsky writes in one of his documents:" (Stalin: 'Our Disagreements' in: 'Works', Volume 5; Moscow; 1953; p.7; English Edition).

"There are two methods: the method of coercion (the military method), and the method of persuasion (the trade-union method). The first method by no means precludes elements of persuasion, but these are subordinate to the requirements of the coercion method and are auxiliary to the latter. The second method, in turn, does not preclude elements of coercion, but these are subordinate to the requirements of the persuasion method and are auxiliary to the latter. It is just as impermissible to confuse these two methods as it is to confuse the army with the working class." (ibid; p.5-6).

For Marx, strikes were the clear expression of the class warfare raging in capitalist society, the wars between labor and capital.

Marx provided evidence that strike struggles were a lawful phenomenon particular to the capitalist order, that they were a means of restraining the arbitrariness of the factory owners and of securing for the workers to a certain extent the necessary conditions of existence. Particularly important are the conclusions drawn from the importance of the strike as a factor that awakens the energies of the working people and welds them together for the struggle against the exploiters. Strikes are schools of proletarian class struggle. Marx saw the greatest importance of strikes in the moral and political influence they exert on the workers and their class consciousness, in the fact that they educate the workers to proletarian solidarity and help to unite and organize the workers. We must not fail to mention that Lenin had always opposed the overestimation of the strike as the so-called "best" means of struggle. He considered the strike "only one of the means and not even always necessarily one of the best. The importance of strikes must be recognized, strikes must always be exploited and directed, but overestimating them is all the more dangerous the more 'economism' has done so.

"To declare that strikes are 'the best means of developing class-consciousness' is also absolutely incorrect." (Lenin: 'A Letter to the Northern League' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 6; Moscow; 1977; p.168-169; English Edition).

Lenin stated in 1906 that:

"(3) with the further growth of the movement, the peaceful general strike proved inadequate, while partial recourse to it failed its aim and disorganised the forces of the proletariat;

"(4) the entire revolutionary movement led with elemental force to the armed uprising in December, when not only the proletariat but new forces of the urban poor and the peasantry took up arms to defend the liberties gained by the people from the encroachments of the reactionary government;" (Lenin: 'A Tactical Platform for the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 10; Moscow; 1977; p.153; English Edition).

Lenin, moreover, was against overestimating the means of struggle anyway. He emphasized the weak side of strikes as an independent means of struggle, when they are exhausted without uniting with the means of struggle of armed insurrection, without passing over into this higher form of struggle:

"The government learned in December how to combat strikes, and at the present moment it is very well prepared for such a fight. Everyone points out the extreme importance of the railways during a general strike. If the railways stop running—the strike has every chance of becoming general. If the railways are not brought to a complete standstill—the strike will almost certainly not be general. But it is particularly difficult for the railwaymen to strike: punitive trains stand in full readiness and armed troop detachments are scattered all along the line, at the stations, sometimes even in the trains. A strike under such conditions may mean—in the majority of cases it must mean—a direct and immediate collision with the armed forces." (Lenin: 'The Dissolution of the Duma and the Tasks of the Proleteriat' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 11; Moscow; 1972; p.120-121; English Edition).

The usefulness of the strike as a form of struggle depends on the concrete, historical situation, as does the danger of its transformation into a stumbling block. Lenin admitted: "A single strike may be inappropriate or may be launched at an inappropriate moment" (Lenin, Vol. 18, p. 468). He further conceded, "Frequent strikes can debilitate the workers. It is quite possible that one will then have to call for shorter strikes, for better prepared demonstrations" (ibid.).

"The workers will concentrate on deliberately supporting, strengthening, developing and consolidating the spontaneously growing revolutionary strike to prepare the peasants and the armed forces for a rising. If strikes exhaust the workers, they should be carried out intermittently, enabling some of the forces to rest while the forces that are rested or 'fresh' are roused to take up the struggle. Shorter strikes should be called. Occasionally strikes should be replaced by demonstrations. But the important thing is that strikes, meetings and demonstrations should take place continuously, that the whole peasantry and the armed forces should know of the workers' stubborn fight (...)

"(...) It is essential that the smouldering resentment and subdued murmurings of the countryside should, along with the indignation in the barracks, find a centre of attraction in the workers' revolutionary strikes." (Lenin: 'The Development of Revolutionary Strikes and Street Demonstrations' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 18; Moscow; 1978; p.476-477; English Edition).

To call for demonstrations and protests in situations where civil war is in full swing, Lenin considered "nonsensical" (Lenin, Vol. 11, page 146). Calling a strike at the wrong time and in a wrong place can even become a disastrous trap for the class enemy. The extent to which, in a situation where armed

insurrection is inevitable and immediate from the strike, the call for a strike can lead to making the insurrection impossible was demonstrated by Lenin in the revolutionary situation in Russia in 1906:

"We shall not demonstrate, said the workers. We shall start a desperate, determined fight when the moment for general action arrives. (...) They understood that partial actions, and demonstrations in particular, would be ridiculous (...) that the intensification of the political crisis makes it impossible to 'start from the beginning' again; that organising peaceful demonstrations would merely play into the hands of the government, which had 'tasted blood' with great satisfaction in December. Peaceful demonstrations would exhaust the proletariat to no purpose and would merely provide exercise for the police and soldiers in seizing and shooting unarmed people. (...) At that time a 'demonstration' would have been construed as a struggle, it would have been converted into a (hopeless) struggle, and the cessation of the demonstration would have been proclaimed throughout the world as another defeat."

(Lenin: 'The Dissolution of the Duma and the Tasks of the Proletariat' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 11; Moscow; 1972; p.119-120; English Edition).

"Therefore, to call for an all-Russian strike without calling for an uprising, without explaining its inseparable connection with an uprising, would be folly bordering on crime. Therefore, in our work of agitation, all efforts must be concentrated on explaining the connection between the two forms of the struggle, on preparing the conditions that will enable three streams of the struggle—a workers' outbreak, a peasant uprising and an army 'revolt'—to merge into a single torrent."

"(...) to direct all efforts towards achieving unity and joint action on the part of the workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors in an active, armed struggle." (ibid; p.122).

"The advanced workers were right in their estimate of the situation. They quickly rectified the false strategical move and husbanded their forces for the coming battle. They instinctively understood the inevitability of a strike as part of an uprising and the harmfulness of a strike as a demonstration." (Lenin: 'Before the Storm' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 11; Moscow; 1972; p.139; English Edition).

"Therefore, to call for an all-Russian strike without calling for an uprising, without explaining its in separable connection with an uprising, would be folly bordering on crime. Therefore, in our work of agitation, all efforts must be concentrated on explaining the connection between the two forms of the struggle, on preparing the conditions that will enable three streams of the struggle—a workers' outbreak, a peasant uprising and an army 'revolt'—to merge into a single torrent [underlined by the editor]." (Lenin: 'The Dissolution of the Duma and the Tasks of the Proletariat' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 11; Moscow; 1972; p.122; English Edition).

"(...) to direct all efforts towards achieving unity and joint action on the part of the workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors in an active, armed struggle." (ibid).